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Abgeschlossen Ostern 1889.

(Die Sammlung wird fortgesetzt.)

Ferdinand Heigl.

ENGLISH AUTHORS.

48. Lieferung.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S
AUTOBIOGRAPHY.



Mit Anmerkungen zum Schulgebrauch herausgegeben

von

Dr. K. MAYER,
Oberlehrer am Gymnasium zu Cottbus.

BIELEFELD und LEIPZIG,
VELHAGEN & KLASING.
1889.

Ihrer Liebesthür weidman in dank-
baren Liebe

der Leugnerin des Kaffers.

Wien 1892.



Biographie und Einleitung.

Franklins "*Autobiography*" reicht bis zum Jahre 1757, bis zu dem Zeitpunkt, als er, damals 51 Jahre alt, von Philadelphia nach London reiste, um als diplomatischer Agent die Interessen Pennsylvaniens zu vertreten. Erst nach mehrjährigen Bemühungen gelang es ihm, den Beschwerden, die er der englischen Regierung vorzutragen hatte, in der Hauptsache Abhülfe zu verschaffen. Zugleich benutzte er diese Zeit, um durch Reisen Großbritannien und einen Teil des Kontinents kennen zu lernen und vielfache Verbindungen anzuknüpfen, die für die spätere Zeit sich als sehr wertvoll für ihn erweisen sollten. Seine naturwissenschaftlichen Entdeckungen hatten ihm schon längst einen Namen in der gelehrten Welt verschafft, und jetzt erwarb ihm sein persönliches Auftreten überall Anerkennung und Verehrung.

Ende 1762 nach Amerika zurückgekehrt, übernahm er wieder seine Funktionen als General-Postmeister der englischen Kolonien und war zugleich eine Zeitlang Präsident der *Assembly* von Pennsylvanien, aber schon im Herbst 1764 wurde er wiederum als diplomatischer Vertreter seines Landes nach England gesandt. Sein Aufenthalt in London verlängerte sich weit über Erwarten, infolge der Wichtigkeit der ihm obliegenden Geschäfte

und der ganzen politischen Lage der Zeit; erst im Frühjahr 1775, nach mehr als 10 Jahren rastloser, vielseitiger Thätigkeit, konnte er die Heimat wiedersehen.

So fand er Gelegenheit, in die wichtigen Verhandlungen einzugreifen, welche dem amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskriege vorangingen. Inzwischen unternahm er wiederholt Reisen nach dem Kontinent, wurde 1767 in Paris dem König und der königlichen Familie vorgestellt und in England trotz der politischen Gegensätze von den Staatsmännern und Gelehrten nicht minder, als in weiten Kreisen des Volkes bewundert und gefeiert. Der berühmte Pitt (Lord *Chatham*) nannte ihn in einer Rede im Oberhause (1775) *“one whom all Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, who was an honor, not to the English nation only, but to human nature”*.

Kaum war er wieder in der Heimat angelangt (1775), als er in den Kongress gewählt wurde, wo er als Mitglied, zum Teil als Vorsitzender, aller wichtigeren Kommissionen unausgesetzt thätig war. Zu Anfang des folgenden Jahres unternahm er trotz seiner 70 Jahre eine sehr beschwerliche Reise nach Canada, um die Bewohner dieser Kolonie ebenfalls zum Aufstand gegen England zu veranlassen. Im Oktober 1776 wurde er zum Gesandten am französischen Hofe ernannt und nahm seinen Wohnsitz in Passy, einem kleinen Dorfe bei Paris. Hier blieb er ungefähr 9 Jahre, und wufste sowohl bei der Regierung, wie bei der Bevölkerung Interesse, ja Begeisterung für die Sache der amerikanischen Freiheit wach zu rufen und lebendig zu erhalten. Er schloß den Allianzvertrag mit Frankreich 1778 und krönte seine diplomatische Thätigkeit durch den Pariser Frieden (1783), in welchem England die Unabhängigkeit der „Vereinigten Staaten“ anerkannte.

Seine Person wurde in Frankreich gefeiert wie nie ein Fremder zuvor; der Minister Turgot verfaßte auf ihn das bekannte Epigramm:

Eripuit cælo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis.

Voltaire kam nach Paris, um ihn zu sehen und führte die Unterhaltung in englischer Sprache, weil er, wie er sagte, die Eitelkeit habe zu zeigen, daß ihm die Sprache eines Franklin nicht unbekannt sei. Portraits und Büsten von ihm waren überall verbreitet; man nannte ihn den Weisen von Passy, der den Geist eines Sokrates mit der Lauterkeit eines Phocion verbinde.

Seine letzte offizielle Handlung war die Unterzeichnung eines Handels- und Freundschaftsvertrages mit Preussen, welcher deshalb Epoche machend zu nennen ist, weil er, zur lebhaften Freude Friedrichs des Großen, die Unverletzlichkeit des Privateigentums zur See als völkerrechtlichen Grundsatz aufstellte. Nebenher führte er einen sehr ausgedehnten Briefwechsel, er verfaßte eine große Zahl politischer Broschüren und wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen, die er selbst setzte und auf einer kleinen Handpresse in Passy abdruckte; er beschäftigte sich mit physikalischen Untersuchungen und, was gerade in unserer Zeit von aktuellem Interesse ist, er präsierte der vom König von Frankreich eingesetzten Kommission zur Untersuchung der von dem bekannten Magnetiseur Mesmer angestellten Experimente.

Im Juli 1785 verließ er Passy, und obgleich er so leidend war, daß er das Fahren im Wagen nicht vertragen konnte und ihm deshalb die Königin ihre eigene Sänfte zur Verfügung stellte, in der er die Reise nach dem Abfahrtshafen Havre zurücklegte: so schrieb der 79jährige Greis während der 48tägigen Seefahrt noch zwei wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen (*Improvements in Navigation* und *Smoky Chimneys*).

Bei seiner Ankunft richtete der Kongress an ihn eine Adresse, in der es heisst: "*Your services have not only merited the thanks of the present generation, but will be recorded in the pages of history to your immortal honor*". Alsbald wurde er zum Präsidenten des Staates Pennsylvanien gewählt; auch als Mitglied der Kommission, welche die Verfassung der Vereinigten Staaten vereinbaren sollte, beteiligte er sich trotz seiner 81 Jahre lebhaft an den Verhandlungen; ausserdem war er vielfach litterarisch thätig, führte das Präsidium mehrerer gemeinnütziger Gesellschaften und unterhielt einen überaus lebhaften Briefwechsel mit seinen zahlreichen Freunden und Verehrern in Europa.

Ende 1788 legte er alle seine Ehrenämter, bis auf den Vorsitz der Gesellschaft zur Abschaffung der Sklaverei (*Abolition Society*), nieder und starb am 17. April 1790, 84 Jahre alt. Die Gedächtnisrede auf ihn hielt in Amerika Washington, in Frankreich Mirabeau. Letzterer beginnt mit den Worten: "*Franklin est mort. Il est retourné au sein de la divinité, le génie qui affranchit l'Amérique et versa sur l'Europe des torrents de lumière, le sage que deux mondes réclament, l'homme que se disputent l'histoire des sciences et l'histoire des empires.*"

Ist es an sich schon reizvoll, in den eigenen Aufzeichnungen einer bedeutenden Persönlichkeit zu lesen, wie ihr Leben sich entwickelt, ihr Charakter sich gebildet hat, so gewährt es ein erhöhtes Interesse, wenn es sich um einen *selfmade man* handelt, der aus eigener Kraft sein Leben aufbaut hat. Kommt noch hinzu, dass diese persönlichen Aufzeichnungen mit ebenso zurückhaltender Bescheidenheit die eigenen Leistungen erwähnen, wie sie die eigenen Schwächen ohne irgend welche Beschönigung mit rückhaltsloser Wahrheitsliebe

aufdecken, so läßt sich kaum eine anziehendere und anregendere Lektüre denken. Alles dies gilt in vollstem Maße von der Autobiographie Franklins, der, gleich groß als Gelehrter, Staatsmann, Patriot und Menschenfreund, „aus engen und beschränkten Verhältnissen zu einer so hervorragenden Stellung im öffentlichen Leben, zum Wohlthäter seines Volkes und zum Lehrer der Menschheit sich empor zu arbeiten wußte“, und in dem sich mehr als in irgend einem anderen das gewaltige und erfolgreiche Ringen eines ganzen Jahrhunderts verkörpert.

Überdies ist die Sprache dieser *Autobiography* so einfach und gefällig, so klar und durchsichtig, und dabei so edel und vornehm, daß Herder* mit vollem Recht Franklin den „edelsten Volksschriftsteller“ des an populärer Litteratur so überreichen Jahrhunderts nennt. „Wollte Gott“, fährt Herder fort, „wir hätten in ganz Europa ein Volk, das ihn läse, das seine Grundsätze anerkannte, und zu seinem eigenen Besten darnach handelte und lebte; wo wären wir sodann!... Einen solchen Mann von sich selbst sprechen, am Rande seines Lebens ihn seinem Sohne erzählen hören, wer er sei? und wie er, was er ist, geworden? wen das nicht reizend belehrte!... Für junge Leute kenne ich fast kein neueres Buch, das ihnen so ganz eine Schule des Fleißes, der Klugheit und Sittsamkeit sein könnte, als dieses. Und wie ruhig ist's gedacht, wie angenehm-scherzhaft erzählt der lebenswürdige Alte! Glückliche, wer auf sein Leben zurücksehen kann, wie Franklin... Er, der Menschheit Lehrer, einer großen Menschengesellschaft Ordner sei unser Vorbild.“ ...

Wie oben erwähnt, reicht die *Autobiography* nur bis

*) Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität (Sämtliche Werke XVII, 7 f. der Weidmannschen Ausgabe).

zum Jahre 1757, aber wenn Franklin auch noch ein ganzes Menschenalter länger gelebt hat, so erkennen wir doch schon *ex ungue leonem*. Dagegen ist es lebhaft zu bedauern, daß wir über seine wissenschaftliche Bedeutung, die ihm bald einen Weltruf verschaffte, aus seinen Aufzeichnungen nur verhältnismäßig wenig erfahren. Um so mehr aber tritt hervor der wohlwollende Menschenfreund, der gemeinnützigste Bürger, der selbstlose Beförderer alles Guten, dessen ganzes Leben zu einer „Apotheose der Pflicht“ geworden ist.

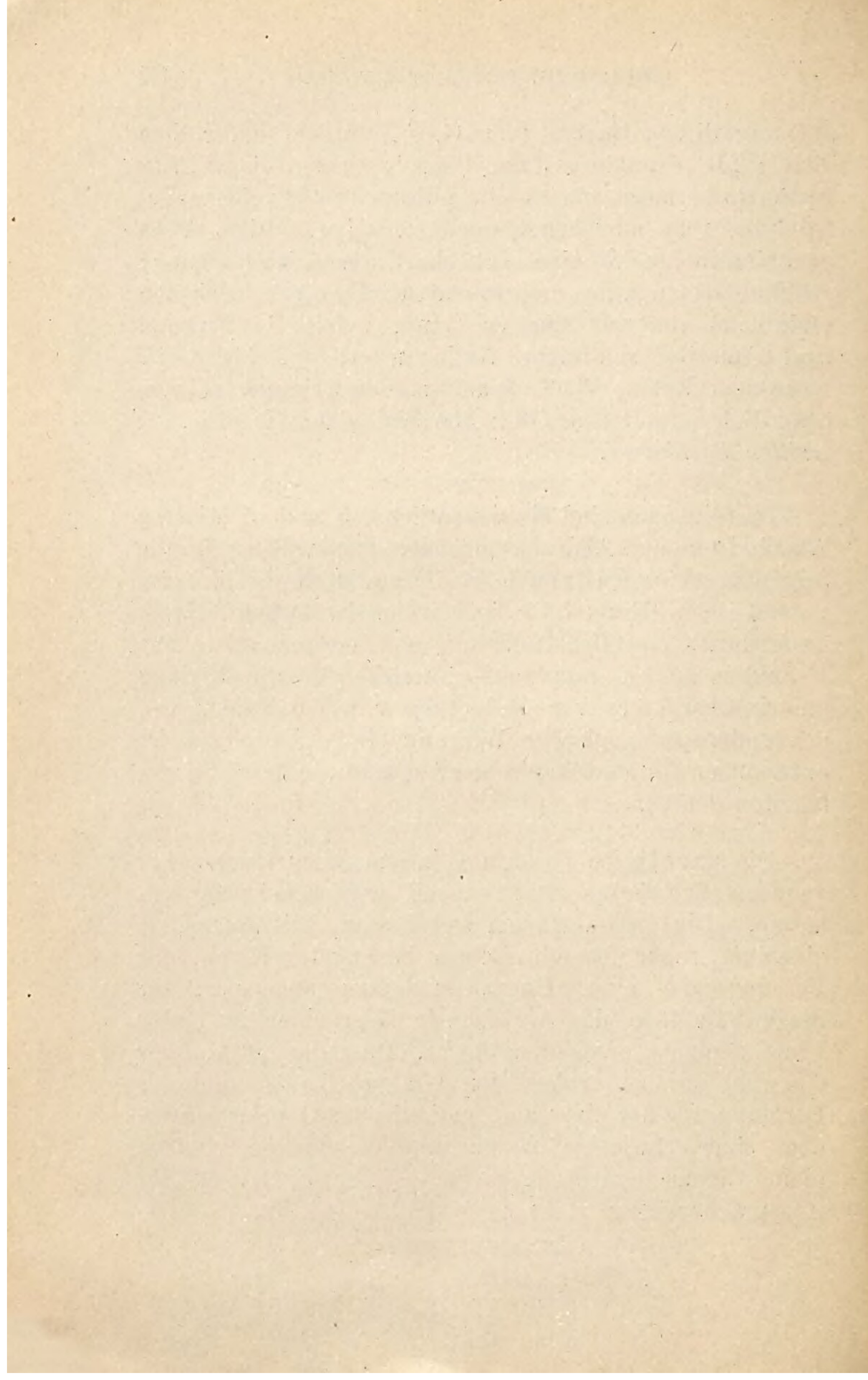
Franklin hat seine „*Autobiography*“ nicht in einem Zuge geschrieben. Den ersten Teil, der bis 1730 reicht (Kapitel I—VII*), schrieb er 1771 während seines Aufenthalts in England nieder, als er bei seinem Freunde, dem anglikanischen Bischof Dr. Shipley in Twyford (Hampshire) zum Besuch war. Er ist in die Form eines Briefes an seinen einzigen Sohn William** gerichtet, der damals Gouverneur von New Jersey war. Der zweite Teil (Kapitel VIII) wurde 1784 in Passy, der Schluß (Kapitel IX—XV) 1786—89 in Philadelphia aufgezeichnet. Die beiden ersten Teile wurden noch zu Franklins Lebzeiten und mit seinem Vorwissen von einem seiner Freunde ins Französische übersetzt und erschienen ein Jahr nach seinem Tode (1791) in Paris, unter dem Titel *Mémoires de la vie privée de B. F., écrits par lui-même et adressés à son fils*. Eine deutsche Über-

*) Die Einteilung in Kapitel rührt vom deutschen Herausgeber her. — **) Dieser Sohn stellte sich später, noch vor Ausbruch des Unabhängigkeitskrieges, auf die Seite der Loyalisten (Anhänger Englands), kämpfte gegen sein eigenes Vaterland und siedelte später nach England über, wo er auch (1813) gestorben ist. Sein Sohn William Temple Franklin begleitete 1776, damals 17 Jahre alt, seinen Großvater von Amerika nach Frankreich und blieb die ganze Zeit bei ihm in Passy; er starb 1823 in Paris.

setzung dieses Buches (von G. A. Bürger) unter dem Titel: „B. Franklin's Jugendjahre“ wurde schon 1792 in Berlin herausgegeben und von Herder an der oben angeführten Stelle ausführlich erwähnt. Gleichzeitig (1793) erschien in London eine englische Übersetzung (genauer: Rückübersetzung des ursprünglich englisch geschriebenen Originals) von unbekannter Hand, welche in England und Amerika zahlreiche Auflagen erlebte, bis 1817 Franklins Enkel, W. T. Franklin, den Originaltext veröffentlichte unter dem Titel: *Memoirs of the life of B. F., written by himself.*

Im folgenden sind die wesentlichsten und wichtigsten Abschnitte zum Abdruck gelangt; fast vollständig die Jugendgeschichte (Kapitel I—III) sowie die erste Reise nach London (Kapitel V); im übrigen ist darauf Bedacht genommen, alle Begebenheiten und Vorkommnisse aus Franklins Leben auszuwählen, welche für die Bildung seines Charakters von Bedeutung und demgemäß von dauernder pädagogischer Wirkung sind. Der Text ist entnommen der amerikanischen Ausgabe von Jared Sparks (Boston 1850).

Die sachliche Erklärung in den Anmerkungen hat grundsätzlich keine Schwierigkeit unberücksichtigt gelassen. Die Erläuterungen selbst sind, mit Ausnahme einzelner, mehr für den Lehrer bestimmten Noten, der Fassungsgabe eines Untersekundaners angepaßt, für dessen Lektüre das vorliegende Werkchen in erster Linie geeignet erscheinen dürfte. Dasselbe gilt von der Auswahl der zu erklärenden Grammatikalien und der Formulierung der einzelnen syntaktischen Regeln; außerdem sind schwierige Worte und Wendungen vielfach gleich deutsch wiedergegeben. — Die Erklärung der Aussprachezeichen steht Seite 152.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

I.

I HAVE ever had a pleasure in obtaining any¹ little anecdotes of my ancestors. You² may remember³ the inquiries I made among the remains of my relations, when⁴ you were with me in England, and the journey I undertook for that purpose. Imagining it may be equally agreeable to you to learn the circumstances of *my* life, many of which you are unacquainted with; and expecting the enjoyment of a few weeks' uninterrupted leisure, I sit down to write them. Besides, there are some other inducements that excite me to this undertaking. From the poverty and obscurity in which I was born, and in which I passed my earliest years, I have raised myself⁵ to a state of affluence and some

1) *Any little anecdotes*; *any* in einem bejahenden Satze: jeder (beliebige), irgend welche. — 2) *you*: Franklin's Sohn William, an den der erste Teil dieser Autobiographie gerichtet ist; vgl. Einleitung, S. VIII. — 3) *you may remember* du erinnerst dich vielleicht. — 4) *when*: im Jahre 1758. — 5) *I have raised myself* ist nachdrücklicher als *I have risen*.

degree of celebrity in the world. As constant good fortune has accompanied me even to an advanced period of life, my posterity will perhaps be desirous of learning the means which I employed, and which, thanks¹ to Providence, so well succeeded with me. They may also deem them fit to be imitated, should any of them find themselves in similar circumstances.

This good fortune, when I reflect on it (which is frequently the case) has induced me sometimes to say that, if it were left to my choice, I should have no objection to go over the same life from its beginning to the end; requesting only the advantage authors have of correcting in a second edition the faults of the first. So would I also wish to change some incidents of it, for² others more favourable. Notwithstanding, if this condition was denied, I should still accept the offer of re-commencing the same life. But as this repetition is not to be expected, that which resembles most living one's life over again³, seems to be to recall all the circumstances of it; and, to render⁴ this remembrance more durable, to record them in writing.

In thus employing myself, I shall yield to the inclination so natural to old men, of talking of themselves and their own actions; and I shall in-

1) *Thanks to Providence*; wie die Eigennamen von Personen stehen ohne Artikel: *Providence, Heaven, Satan, Hell* u. a. — 2) *to change for* vertauschen gegen. — 3) *living one's life over again* (das nochmalige Durchleben unseres Lebens) hängt von *resembles* ab. — 4) *to render* um zu machen.

dulge it¹ without being tiresome to those who, from respect to my age, might conceive themselves obliged to listen to me, since they will be always free to read me or not. And, lastly, (I may as well confess it, as the denial of it would be believed by nobody,) I shall perhaps not a little² gratify my own vanity. Indeed, I never heard or saw the introductory words, "Without vanity I may say," &c., but³ some vain thing immediately followed. Most people dislike vanity in others, whatever share they have of it themselves; but I give it fair quarter⁴ wherever I meet with it, being persuaded that it is often productive of good to the possessor, and to others who are within his sphere of action; and, therefore, in many cases it would not be altogether absurd, if a man were to thank God for his *vanity* among the other comforts of life.

And now⁵ I speak of thanking God, I desire with all humility to acknowledge that I attribute the mentioned happiness of my past life to His divine providence, which led me to the means I used, and gave the success. My belief of this induces me to *hope*, though I must not⁶ *presume*, that the same goodness will still be exercised towards me in continuing that happiness, or enabling me to bear a fatal reverse, which I may experience as

1) *To indulge* wird gewöhnlich mit *in* konstruiert. —
 2) *not a little* nicht wenig, erheblich. — 3) *I never heard ... but* ich habe nie gehört ... ohne dafs; so steht *but* nach negativem Hauptsatz, dem lateinischen *quin*, französischen *que ... ne* entsprechend. — 4) *fair quarter* freier Spielraum. — 5) *now* = *now that*. — 6) *I must not* ich darf nicht.

others have done; the complexion of my future fortune being known to Him only in whose power it is to bless us, even in our afflictions.

Some notes, which one of my uncles, who had the same curiosity in collecting family anecdotes, once put into my hands, furnished me with several particulars relative to our ancestors. From these notes I learned that they lived in the same village, Ecton, in Northamptonshire¹, on a freehold² of about thirty acres³, for at least three hundred years, and how much longer could not be ascertained.

This small estate would not have sufficed for their maintenance without the business of a smith, which had continued in the family down to my uncle's time, the eldest son⁴ being always brought up to that employment; a custom which he and my father followed with regard to their eldest sons. When I searched the registers at Ecton, I found an account of their marriages and burials from the year 1555 only, as the registers kept⁵ did not commence previous thereto. I, however, learned from it that I was the youngest son of the youngest son for five generations back. My grandfather, Thomas, who was born in 1598, lived at Ecton, till he was

1) Northamptonshire, eine Grafschaft im mittleren England: — 2) *freehold* freies (nicht lehnspflichtiges) Bauerngut. Der Name Franklin bedeutet Freisasse und wird in diesem Sinne noch von den englischen Schriftstellern Chaucer (gest. 1400) und Spenser (gest. 1599) gebraucht. — 3) Ein *acre* = 0,4 Hektar (1½ Morgen). — 4) *the eldest son being brought up*; absoluter Nominativ. — 5) *the registers kept*; Partizipien werden auch in Prosa häufig hinter das Substantiv gestellt; *the registers* die Kirchenbücher.

too old to continue his business, when he retired to Banbury in Oxfordshire, to the house of his son John, with¹ whom my father served an apprenticeship. My grandfather had four sons, who grew up.

Our humble family early embraced the reformed religion. Our forefathers continued² Protestants through the reign of Mary³, when they were sometimes in danger of persecution, on account of their zeal against popery. They had an English Bible, and, to conceal it and place it in safety, it was fastened open with tapes, under and within the cover of a joint stool⁴. When my great-grandfather wished to read it to his family, he placed the joint stool on his knees, and then turned over the leaves under the tapes. One of the children stood at the door to give notice if he saw the apparitor coming, who was an officer of the spiritual court. In that case the stool was turned down again upon its feet, when the Bible remained concealed under it as before. The family continued all of the Church of England⁵, till about the end of Charles the Second's⁶ reign, when some of the ministers⁷ that had been outed for their non-conformity⁸, holding conventicles in Northamptonshire, my uncle Benjamin and my father Josiah⁹ adhered to them, and so continued

1) *With* bei. — 2) *to continue* bleiben. — 3) *Mary* Maria die Katholische, Königin von England, 1553—1558. — 4) *a joint stool* ein Klappstuhl. — 5) *the church of England* die englische Staatskirche. — 6) Charles II., König von England, 1660—1685. — 7) *minister* Prediger. — 8) *non-conformity* Abweichung von der englischen Staatskirche. — 9) *Josiah* wird auf der ersten Silbe betont.

all their lives. The rest of the family remained with the Episcopal Church¹.

My father married young, and carried his wife with three children to New England², about 1685. The conventicles being at that time forbidden by law, and frequently disturbed in the meetings, some considerable men of his acquaintances determined to go to that country, and he was prevailed with to accompany them thither, where they expected to enjoy the exercise of their religion with freedom. By the same wife my father³ had four children more born there, and by a second, ten others; in all seventeen; of whom I remember to have seen thirteen sitting together at his table; who all grew up to years of maturity, and were married. I was the youngest son, and the youngest of all the children except two daughters. I was born⁴ in Boston, in New England. My mother, the second wife of my father, was Abiah⁵ Folger, daughter of Peter Folger, one of the first settlers of New England; of whom honourable mention is made by Cotton

1) *The Episcopal Church = the Church of England.* —
 2) New England, die englischen Kolonien an der Ostküste von Nordamerika; speziell führten seit 1643 die Kolonien New Hampshire, Massachusetts (spr. mäs-sə-tshō'-sīts), Rhode Island, Connecticut (spr. kōn-nēk'-tī-kət oder kōn-nēt'-tī-kət) und Vermont zusammen den Namen '*United Colonies of England*'. — 3) *my father had four children more born there* meinem Vater wurden dort noch ... geboren. — 4) *I was born:* am 6/17. Januar 1706 (bis zum Jahre 1752 galt in England und seinen Kolonien noch der julianische Kalender). Boston war (und ist noch) die Hauptstadt von Massachusetts, 1630 gegründet und zählte damals kaum 8000 Einwohner. — 5) Abiah spr. ə-bī'ā.

Mather¹, in his ecclesiastical history of that country, as "a godly and learned Englishman," if I remember the words rightly. I was informed, he wrote several small occasional works, but only one of them was printed, which I remember to have seen several years since². It was written in 1675.

My elder brothers were all put apprentices to different trades. I was put to the grammar school³ at eight years of age; my father intending to devote me, as the tithe of his sons, to the service of the church. My early readiness in learning to read, which must have been very early, as I do not remember when I could not read, and the opinion of all his friends that I should certainly make a good scholar, encouraged him in this purpose of his⁴. I continued⁵, however, at the grammar school rather less than a year, though in that time I had risen gradually from the middle of the class of that year to be at the head of the same class, and was removed into the next class, whence I was to be placed in the third at the end of the year.

But my father, burdened with a numerous family, was unable; without inconvenience, to support the expense of a college education. Considering, moreover, as he said to one of his friends, in my presence, the little encouragement that line of life

1) Cotton Mather, amerikanischer Theologe des 17 Jahrhunderts. — 2) *several years since*; heutzutage sagt man gewöhnlich *several years ago*. — 3) *grammar school* höhere Schule. — 4) *this purpose of his*, Anglicismus: dieser sein Plan. — 5) *I continued*; vgl. S. 5, Anm. 2.

afforded to those educated¹ for it, he gave up his first intentions, took me from the grammar school, and sent me to a school² for writing and arithmetic. There I learned to write a good hand pretty soon; but I failed entirely in arithmetic. At ten years old³ I was taken to help my father in his business, which was that of a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler; a business to which he was not bred, but had assumed on his arrival in New England, because he found that his dyeing⁴ trade, being in little request, would not maintain his family. Accordingly, I was employed in cutting wicks for the candles, filling the moulds for cast⁵ candles, attending the shop, going of errands, &c.

I disliked the trade, and had a strong inclination to go to sea; but my father declared against it. But, residing near the water⁶, I was much in it and on it. I learned to swim well, and to manage boats; and, when embarked⁷ with other boys, I was commonly allowed to govern, especially in any⁸ case

1) *Those educated*; *educated* ist Attribut zu dem substantivisch gebrauchten *those*. — 2) *school for ... arithmetic* Elementarschule, in welcher die drei R (*the three ares*) gelehrt werden: *reading, writing, (a)rithmetic*. — 3) *at ten years old*, eine nicht ganz korrekte Wendung der Umgangssprache für *at ten years* oder *ten years old*. — 4) *dyeing*; man beachte die Orthographie: *dying* heisst sterbend. — 5) *cast* gegossen. — 6) *near the water*: Boston liegt am Meere. — 7) *when embarked*; verkürzter Temporalsatz; überhaupt werden Kausal-, Konzessiv-, Konditional- und Temporalsätze in dieser Weise oft verkürzt, wenn das Subjekt mit dem des Hauptsatzes identisch ist und das Verbum eine einfache Form von *to be* ist. — 8) *in any case*, weil der Sinn konditional (iterativ) ist (*if there was any case*), so steht *any*.

of difficulty; and upon other occasions I was generally the leader among the boys, and sometimes led them into scrapes, of which I will mention one instance, as it shows an early projecting¹ public spirit, though not then justly conducted. There was a salt marsh, which bounded² part of the millpond on the edge of which, at high water³, we used to stand to fish for minnows. By much trampling we had made it a mere quagmire. My proposal was to build a wharf there for us to stand upon, and I showed my comrades a large heap of stones, which were intended for a new house near the marsh, and which would very well suit our purpose. Accordingly in the evening, when the workmen were gone home, I assembled a number of my playfellows, and we worked diligently like so many emmets, sometimes two or three to a stone, till we brought them all to make our little wharf. The next morning, the workmen were surprised at missing the stones, which had formed our wharf. Inquiry was made after the authors of this transfer; we were discovered, complained of⁴, and corrected by our fathers; and, though I demonstrated the utility of our work, mine convinced me that that which was not honest, could not be truly useful.

I suppose you may like to know what kind of a man my father was. He had an excellent con-

1) *Projecting* erfinderisch; *public spirit* Neigung, für das Gemeinwohl zu wirken. — 2) *to bound* begränzen. — *Part of* (und *plenty of*) stehen ohne Artikel. — 3) *at high water* zur Flutzeit. — 4) *we were complained of* man beklagte sich über uns.

stitution, was of a middle stature, well set¹, and very strong. He could draw prettily, and was skilled a little in music. His voice was sonorous and agreeable, so that when he played on his violin, and sung withal, as he was accustomed to do after the business of the day was over, it was extremely agreeable to hear. He had some knowledge of mechanics, and on occasion was very handy with other tradesmen's tools. But his great excellence was his sound understanding, and his solid judgment in prudential matters², both in private and public affairs. It is true he was never employed in the latter, the numerous family he had to educate, and the straitness of his circumstances, keeping him close to his trade; but I remember well his being frequently visited by leading men³, who consulted him for his opinion in public affairs, and those of the church he belonged to; and who showed a great respect for his judgment and advice.

He was also much consulted by private persons about their affairs, when⁴ any difficulty occurred, and frequently chosen an arbitrator between contending parties. At his table he liked to have, as often as he could, some sensible friend or neighbour to converse with, and always took care to start⁵ some ingenious or useful topic for discourse, which might tend to improve the minds of his

1) *Well set* wohlgebaut. — 2) *prudential matters* Verstandessachen. — 3) *leading men* Ton angebende Persönlichkeiten. — 4) *when any difficulty occurred*; hier könnte auch *some* stehen; *some* irgend welche, *any* auch nur irgend welche. — 5) *to start a topic* ein Thema vorbringen.

children. By this means he turned our attention to what was good, just, and prudent, in the conduct of life; and little or no notice was ever taken of what related to the victuals on the table; whether it was well or ill dressed¹, in or out of season, of good or bad flavour, preferable or inferior to this or that other thing of the kind; so that I was brought up in such a perfect inattention to those matters as² to be quite indifferent what kind of food was set before me. Indeed, I am so unobservant of it, that to this day I can scarce tell a few hours after dinner of what dishes it consisted. This has been a great convenience to me in travelling, where my companions have been sometimes very unhappy for want of a suitable gratification of their more delicate, because better instructed, tastes and appetites.

My mother had likewise an excellent constitution. I never knew either my father or mother to have any sickness but that of which they died; he at eighty-nine, and she at eighty-five years of age³. They lie buried together at Boston, where I some years since⁴ placed a marble over their grave.

By my rambling digressions, I perceive myself to be⁵ grown old. To return: I continued thus

1) *Dressed* zubereitet. — 2) *as to be* so daß ich war... — 3) Franklins Vater starb i. J. 1744, seine Mutter i. J. 1752. — 4) *since*; vgl. S. 7, Anm. 2. — 5) *to be grown*; einige intransitive Verben der Bewegung (*to come, to go, to return, to arrive* sowie *to come* und *to grow* werden mit *to be* konstruiert, wenn der aus der Bewegung resultierende Zustand bezeichnet werden soll. *I have returned* ich bin zurückgekehrt, *I am returned* ich bin zurück.

employed in my father's business for two years, that is, till I was twelve years old; and my brother John, who was bred to that business, having left my father, married, and set up for himself at Rhode Island¹, there was every appearance that I was destined to supply his place, and become a tallow-chandler. But my dislike to the trade continuing, my father had apprehensions that, if he did not put me to one² more agreeable, I should break loose and go to sea, as my brother Josiah had done, to his great vexation. In consequence, he took me to walk with him and see joiners, bricklayers, turners, braziers, &c., at their work, that³ he might observe my inclination, and endeavour to fix it on some trade or profession that would keep me on land. It has ever since been a pleasure to me to see good workmen handle their tools. And it has been often useful to me, to have learned so much by it, as to be able to do some trifling jobs in the house, when a workman was not at hand, and to construct little machines for my experiments, at the moment when the intention of making these was warm in my mind. My father determined at last for the cutler's trade, and placed me for some days on trial with⁴ Samuel, son to my uncle Benjamin, who was bred to that trade in London, and had just established himself in Boston. But the sum

1) *Rhode Island*, südlich von Boston. — 2) *one*, zu ergänzen *trade*. — 3) *that he might observe*; in den durch *that* eingeleiteten Finalsätzen steht regelmässig *may*, nach einem Nebentempus *might*. — 4) *with*; vgl. S. 5, Anm. 1.

he exacted as a fee for my apprenticeship displeased my father, and I was taken home again.

II.

From my infancy I was passionately fond of reading, and all the money that came into my hands was laid out in the purchasing of books¹. I was very fond of voyages. My first acquisition was Bunyan's² works in separate little volumes. I afterwards sold them to enable me to buy R. Burton's *Historical Collections*. My father's little library consisted chiefly of books in polemic divinity, most of which I read. I have often regretted that, at a time when I had such a thirst for knowledge, more proper books had not fallen in my way, since it was resolved I should not be bred to divinity. There was among them Plutarch's³ *Lives*, which I read abundantly, and I still think that time spent to great advantage. There was also a book of Defoe's⁴, called *An Essay on Projects*, and another

1) *In the purchasing of books* ist gleichbedeutend mit *in purchasing books*. — *voyages* Reisebeschreibungen — 2) Bunyan, englischer Baptistenprediger, gest. 1688; sein berühmtestes — im Gefängnis verfaßtes — Werk ist «The Pilgrim's Progress from this World into that which is to Come», ein noch jetzt in England viel verbreitetes Erbauungsbuch. — 3) Plutarch, griechischer Schriftsteller, gest. 120 n. Chr., schrieb u. a. *Vitae parallelae* (44 vergleichende Biographien berühmter Griechen und Römer). — 4) Defoe, englischer Schriftsteller, gest. 1731, bekannt als Verfasser von *Life and adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719). Man beachte den Anglicismus: *a book of Defoe's*; vgl. S. 7, Anm. 4.

of Dr. Mather's¹, called *An Essay to do Good*, which perhaps gave me a turn of thinking², that had an influence on some of the principal future events of my life.

This bookish inclination at length determined my father to make me a printer, though he had already one son, James, of that profession. In 1717 my brother James returned from England with a press and letters³, to set up his business in Boston. I liked it much better than that of my father, but still had a hankering for the sea. To prevent the apprehended effect of such an inclination, my father was impatient to have me bound to my brother. I stood out⁴ some time, but at last was persuaded, and signed the indenture, when I was yet⁵ but twelve years old. I was to serve an apprenticeship till I was twenty-one years of age, only I was to be allowed⁶ journeyman's wages during the last year. In a little time I made a great progress in the business, and became a useful hand⁷ to my brother. I now had access to better books, and often I sat up in my chamber reading the greatest part of the night, when the book was borrowed in the evening, and to be returned in the morning.

After some time a merchant, an ingenious, sensible⁸ man, Mr. Matthew Adams, who had a pretty collection of books, frequented our printing office,

1) *Mather*; vgl. S. 7, Anm. 1. — 2) *a turn of thinking* eine Gedankenrichtung. — 3) *letters* Lettern. — 4) *I stood out* ich weigerte mich. — 5) *yet*; die heutige Sprache verlangt *still* oder *but* erst. — 6) *I was to be allowed* es sollte mir gewährt werden. — 7) *hand* Arbeitskraft. — 8) *sensible* verständig.

took notice of me, and invited me to see his library, and very kindly proposed to lend me such books as I chose to read. I now took a strong inclination for poetry, and wrote some little pieces. My brother, supposing it might turn to account¹, encouraged me, and induced me to compose two occasional ballads². One was called *The Light-House Tragedy*, and contained an account of the shipwreck of Captain Worthilake with his two daughters; the other was a sailor's song, on the taking of the famous *Teach*, or *Blackbeard*, the pirate. They were wretched stuff³, in street-ballad style; and when they were printed, my brother sent me about the town⁴ to sell them. The first sold prodigiously, the event being recent, and having made a great noise. This success flattered my vanity; but my father discouraged me by criticising my performances, and telling me verse-makers were generally beggars. Thus I escaped being a poet, and probably a very bad one; but, as prose writing has been of great use to me in the course of my life, and was a principal means of my advancement, I shall tell you how in such a situation I acquired what little ability I may be supposed to have in that way.

There was another bookish lad in the town, John Collins by name, with whom I was intimately acquainted. We sometimes disputed, and very fond we were of argument⁵, and very desirous of con-

1) *To turn to account* Gewinn bringen. — 2) *occasional ballads* Gelegenheitsgedichte. — 3) *wretched stuff* elendes Zeug; *in street-ballad style* Gassenhauer. — 4) *about the town* in der Stadt herum. — 5) *argument* Streiten mit Worten.

futing one another; which disputatious turn¹, by the way, is apt to become a very bad habit, making people often extremely disagreeable in company, and thence, besides souring and spoiling the conversation, it is productive of disgusts, and perhaps enmities, with those who may have occasion for friendship. I had caught this² by reading my father's books of dispute on religion.

A question was once, somehow or other, started between Collins and me, on the propriety of educating the female sex in learning, and their abilities for study. He was of opinion that it was improper, and that they were naturally unequal to it. I took the contrary side, perhaps a little for dispute's sake. He was naturally more eloquent, having a greater plenty of words, and sometimes, as I thought, I was vanquished more by his fluency than by the strength of his reasons. As we parted without settling the point, and were not to see one another again for some time, I sat down to put my arguments in writing, which I copied fair and sent to him. He answered and I replied. Three or four letters on a side had passed, when my father happened to find my papers, and read them. Without entering into the subject in dispute, he took occasion to talk to me about my manner of writing; observed that though I had the advantage of³ my antagonist in correct spelling and pointing⁴ (which

1) *Turn* Neigung, Richtung. — 2) *I had caught this* ich hatte diese Neigung (zum Disputieren) angenommen . . . — 3) *to have the advantage of* überlegen sein. — 4) *pointing* Interpunktion.

he attributed to the printing-house), I fell far short¹ in elegance of expression, in method, and in perspicuity, of which he convinced me by several instances. I saw the justice of his remarks, and thence grew more attentive to my manner of writing, and determined to endeavour to improve my style.

About this time, I met with an odd volume of the *Spectator*². I had never before seen any of them. I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the writing excellent, and wished if possible to imitate it. With that view I took some of the papers³, and making short hints of the sentiments in each sentence, laid them by a few days, and then, without looking at the book, tried to complete the papers again, by expressing each hinted sentiment at length, and as fully as it had been expressed before, in any suitable words that should occur to me. Then I compared my *Spectator* with the original, discovered some of my faults, and corrected them. But I found I wanted a stock of words, or a readiness in recollecting and using them, which I thought I should have acquired before that time, if I had gone on making verses; since the continual search for words of the same import⁴, but of different length to suit the measure, or of diffe-

1) *To fall short* nachstehen. — 2) *the Spectator*, Titel einer Wochenschrift, welche in London in den Jahren 1711 und 1712 erschien und von Steele und Addison herausgegeben wurde; *odd* einzeln. — 3) *the papers* die (einzelnen) Nummern. — *hint* Andeutung; *sentiments* Gedanken. — 4) *import* Bedeutung.

rent sound for the rhyme, would have laid me under a constant necessity of searching for variety, and also have tended to fix that variety in my mind, and make me master of it. Therefore I took some of the tales in the Spectator, and turned them into verse; and, after a time, when I had pretty well forgotten the prose, turned them back again.

I also sometimes jumbled my collection of hints into confusion, and after some weeks endeavoured to reduce them into the best order before I began to form the full sentences and complete the subject. This was to teach me method in the arrangement of the thoughts. By comparing my work with the original, I discovered many faults, and corrected them; but I sometimes had the pleasure to fancy that, in certain particulars of small consequence, I had been fortunate enough to improve the method¹ or the language, and this encouraged me to think that I might in time come to be a tolerable English writer; of which I was extremely ambitious. The time I allotted for writing exercises, and for reading, was at night, or before work began in the morning, or on Sundays.

When² about sixteen years of age, I happened to meet with a book, written by one Tryon, recommending a vegetable diet. I determined to go into it. My brother, being yet³ unmarried, did not keep house, but boarded himself and his apprentices

1) *The method* die Art der Darstellung, Beweisführung.
— 2) *when . . . of age*; vgl. S. 8. Anm. 7. — 3) *yet*; vgl. S. 14, Anm. 5.

in another family. My refusing to eat flesh occasioned an inconvenience, and I was frequently chid for my singularity.' I made myself acquainted with Tryon's manner of preparing some of his dishes, such as boiling potatoes or rice, making hastypudding and a few others, and then proposed to my brother that if he would give me weekly half the money he paid for my board, I would board myself. He instantly agreed to it, and I presently found that I could save half what he paid me. This was an additional fund for buying of books¹; but I had another advantage in it. My brother and the rest going from the printing-house to their meals, I remained there alone, and, despatching presently my light repast (which was often no more than a biscuit, or a slice of bread, a handful of raisins, or a tart from the pastry cook's², and a glass of water), had the rest of the time, till their return, for study; in which I made the greater progress from that greater clearness of head and quicker apprehension³ which generally attend temperance in eating and drinking. Now it was that, being on some occasion made ashamed of my ignorance in figures⁴, which I had twice failed learning when⁵ at school, I took Cocker's book on Arithmetic, and went through the whole by myself

1) *For buying of books*; diese Konstruktion (*of* nach dem Gerundium eines transitiven Verbums) ist jetzt veraltet; man sagt entweder *for the buying of books* oder *for buying books*; vgl. S. 13, Anm. 1. — 2) *from the pastry cook's*, zu ergänzen *shop*. — 3) *apprehension* Auffassung. — 4) *figure* Ziffer, *in figures* im Rechnen. — 5) *when at school*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 7.

with the greatest ease. I also read Seller's and Sturny's book on *Navigation*, which made me acquainted with the little geometry it contains; but I never proceeded far in that science. I read about this time Locke¹ *On Human Understanding*, and *The Art of Thinking* by Messrs. de Port-Royal².

While I was intent on improving my language, I met with an English grammar, having at the end of it two little sketches on the Arts of Rethoric and Logic, the latter finishing with a dispute in the Socratic method; and soon after I procured Xenophon's *Memorable Things*³ of Socrates, wherein there are many examples of the same method. I was charmed with it, adopted it, dropped⁴ my abrupt contradiction and positive argumentation, and put on the humble inquirer. I found this method the safest for myself and very embarrassing to those against whom I used it; therefore I took delight in it, practised it continually, and grew very artful and expert in drawing people, even of superior knowledge, into concessions, the consequences of which they did not foresee, entangling them in difficulties, out of which they could not extricate themselves, and so obtaining victories that neither myself nor my cause always deserved.

1) Locke, englischer Philosoph, gest. 1704; sein berühmtestes Werk ist «An Essay on Human Understanding» (1690). — 2) *Messrs. de Port Royal*; die Patres des Klosters *Port Royal des Champs* (in der Nähe von Paris) verfassten im 17. Jahrhundert eine Anzahl populärer Schriften über philosophische Gegenstände, u. a. *La Logique ou L'art de penser*. — 3) *Memorable Things* die sog. Memorabilien. — — 4) *to drop* fallen lassen, aufgeben.

I continued this method some few years, but gradually left it, retaining only the habit of expressing myself in terms of modest diffidence, never using, when I advance any¹ thing that may possibly be disputed, the words *certainly, undoubtedly*, or any others that give the air of positiveness to an opinion; but rather say *I conceive*, or *apprehend*, a thing to be so and so; *It appears to me*, or *I should not think it, so or so, for such and such reasons*; or, *I imagine it to be so*; or, *It is so, if I am not mistaken*. This habit, I believe, has been of great advantage to me, when I had occasion to inculcate my opinions, and persuade men into measures, that I have been from time to time engaged in promoting. In fact, if you wish to instruct others, a positive dogmatical manner in advancing your sentiments may occasion opposition, and prevent a candid attention. In adopting such a manner, you can seldom expect to please your hearers, or obtain the concurrence² you desire. Pope³ judiciously observes

“Men must be taught, as if you taught them not,
And things unknown proposed⁴ as things forgot.”

My brother had, in 1720 or 1721, begun to print a newspaper. It was the second⁵ that appeared in America, and was called the *New England Courant*. The only one before it was the *Boston*

1) *Any thing*; vgl. S. 10, Anm. 4. — 2) *concurrence* Zustimmung. — 3) Pope, berühmter englischer Schriftsteller, «*the prince of rhyme*», geb. 1688, gest. 1744. — 4) *proposed*, zu ergänzen *must be (proposed)*. — 5) *the second*: hier liegt ein Irrtum Franklins vor, und es muß heißen: *the fourth*.

*News-Letter*¹. I remember his being dissuaded by some of his friends from the undertaking, as not likely to succeed, one newspaper being in their judgment enough for America. At this time, 1771, there are not less than five-and-twenty. He went on, however, with the undertaking. I was employed to carry the papers to the customers, after having worked in composing the types and printing off the sheets.

He had some ingenious men among his friends, who amused themselves by writing little pieces for this paper, which gained it credit, and made it more in demand, and these gentlemen often visited us. Hearing their conversations, and their accounts of the approbation their papers were received with, I was excited to try my hand among them. But, being still a boy², and suspecting that my brother would object to printing anything³ of mine in his paper, if he knew it to be mine, I contrived to disguise my hand, and, writing an anonymous paper, I put it at night under the door of the printing-house. It was found in the morning, and communicated to his writing friends when they called in as usual. They read it, commented on it in my hearing, and I had the exquisite pleasure of finding it met with their approbation, and that, in their different guesses at the author, none were named but men of some character⁴ among us for learning and ingenuity. I suppose that I was rather

1) *The Boston News-Letter* erschien seit 1704. — 2) *a boy*: 15 Jahr alt. — 3) *anything*; auch nur irgend etwas; vgl. S. 10, Anm. 4. — 4) *character* Ruf; *ingenuity* Scharfsinn.

lucky in my judges, and that they were not really so very good as I then believed them to be. Encouraged, however, by this attempt, I wrote and sent in the same way to the press several other pieces, that were equally approved; and I kept my secret till all my fund of sense for such performances was exhausted, and then discovered it, when I began to be considered a little more by my brother's acquaintance.

However, that did not quite please him, as he thought it tended to make me too vain. This might be one occasion of the differences we began to have about this time. Though a brother, he considered himself as my master, and me as his apprentice, and accordingly expected the same services from me as he would¹ from another, while I thought he degraded me too much in some he required of me, who from a brother expected more indulgence. Our disputes were often brought before our father, and I fancy I was either generally in the right, or else a better pleader, because the judgment was generally in my favour. But my brother was passionate, and had often beaten me, which I took extremely amiss; and, thinking my apprenticeship very tedious, I was continually wishing for some opportunity of shortening it, which at length offered. Perhaps this harsh and tyrannical treatment of me might be a means of impressing me with the aversion to arbitrary power, that has stuck to me through my whole life.

1) *He would, erg. have expected; some, erg. services.*

When my brother found I would leave him, he took care to prevent my getting employment in any other printing-house of the town, by going round and speaking to every master, who accordingly refused to give me work. I then thought of going to New York, as the nearest place where there was a printer. But my father now siding with my brother, I was sensible that, if I attempted to go openly, means would be used to prevent me. My friend Collins, therefore, undertook to manage my flight. He agreed with the captain of a New York sloop to take me, under pretence of my being a young man of his acquaintance. I sold my books to raise a little money, was taken on board the sloop privately, had a fair wind, and in three days found myself at New York, near three hundred miles¹ from my home, at the age of seventeen, (October, 1723) without the least recommendation, or knowledge of any person in the place, and very little money in my pocket.

III.

THE inclination I had had for the sea was by this time done away, or I might now have gratified it. But having another profession, and conceiving myself a pretty good workman, I offered my services to a printer of the place, old Mr. William Bradford. He could give me no employment, having

1) *Miles*, englische Meilen à 1,6 Kilometer.

little to do, and hands enough already; but he said, "My son at Philadelphia has lately lost his principal hand by death; if you go thither, I believe he may employ you." Philadelphia was one hundred miles further¹; I set out, however, in a boat for Amboy², leaving my chest and things to follow me round by sea.

In crossing the bay³, we met with a squall that tore our rotten sails to pieces, prevented our getting into the Kill⁴, and drove us upon Long Island⁵. In our way, a drunken Dutchman, who was a passenger too, fell overboard; when he was sinking, I reached through the water to his shock pate⁶, and drew him up, so that we got him in again. His ducking sobered him a little, and he went to sleep, taking first out of his pocket a book, which he desired I would⁷ dry for him. It proved to be my old favourite author, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*⁸, in Dutch, finely printed on good paper, copper cuts⁹, a dress better than I had ever seen it wear in its own language. I have since found that it has been

1) *Further*; die jetzige Sprache verlangt *farther* von räumlicher Entfernung. — 2) Amboy, Hafenplatz in New Jersey, gegenüber von Staten Island, 35 englische Meilen von New York. — 3) *the bay*: die *New York bay*. — 4) *the Kill*, Name des Meeresarmes, an dessen Einbuchtung Amboy liegt. — 5) Long Island, eine große Insel, welche durch den Long Island Sund von dem Staate New York getrennt wird, mit der Hauptstadt Brooklyn. — 6) *shock pate* Krauskopf. — 7) *he desired I would dry*; nach den Verben des Bittens und Wünschens steht häufig *would* ohne Konjunktion; daher die Gesprächswendung: *I wish you would* ich bitte darum. — 8) *Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress*; vgl. S. 13, Anm. 2. — 9) *copper cuts* Kupferstiche; *dress* Ausstattung.

translated into most of the languages of Europe, and suppose it has been more generally read than any other book, except perhaps the Bible.

On approaching the island¹, we found it was in a place where there could be no landing, there being a great surge on the stony beach. So we dropped anchor, and swung out our cable towards the shore. Some people came down to the shore, and hallooed to us, as we did to them; but the wind was so high and the surge so loud, that we could not understand each other. There were some small boats near the shore, and we made signs, and called to them to fetch us; but they either did not comprehend us, or it was impracticable, so they went off. Night approaching, we had no remedy but to have patience till the wind abated; and in the mean time the boatman and myself concluded to sleep, if we could; and so we crowded into the hatches where we joined the Dutchman, who was still wet, and the spray, breaking over the head of our boat, leaked through to us, so that we were soon almost as wet as he. In this manner we lay all night, with very little rest; but, the wind abating the next day², we made a shift to reach Amboy before night, having been thirty hours on the water, without victuals, or any drink but a bottle of filthy rum; the water we sailed on being salt.

In the evening I found myself very feverish, and went to bed; but having read somewhere that cold

1) *The island*: Long Island. — 2) *the next day* oder blofs *next day*.

water drunk plentifully was good for a fever, I followed the prescription, and sweat plentifully most of the night. My fever left me, and in the morning, crossing the ferry, I proceeded on my journey on foot, having fifty miles to go to Burlington¹, where I was told I should find boats that would carry me the rest of the way to Philadelphia.

It rained very hard all the day; I was thoroughly soaked, and by noon a good deal tired; so I stopped at a poor inn, where I stayed all night, beginning now to wish I had never left home. I made so miserable a figure, too, that I found, by the questions asked me, I was suspected to be some runaway indentured servant, and in danger of being taken up on that suspicion. However, I proceeded next day, and got in the evening to an inn, within eight or ten miles of Burlington, kept by one Dr. Brown. He entered into conversation with me while I took some refreshment, and, finding I had read a little, became very obliging and friendly. Our acquaintance continued all the rest of his life. He had been, I imagine, an ambulatory quack doctor, for there was no town in England, nor any country in Europe, of which he could not give a very particular account.

At his house I lay that night, and arrived the next morning at Burlington; but had the mortification to find that the regular boats were gone² a little before, and no other expected to go before

1) Burlington am Delawareflufs, oberhalb Philadelphia in New Jersey. — 2) *were gone*; vgl. S. 11, Anm. 5.

Tuesday, this¹ being Saturday. Wherefore I returned to an old woman in the town, of whom I had bought some gingerbread to eat on the water, and asked her advice. She proposed to lodge me till a passage by some other boat occurred. I accepted her offer, being much fatigued by travelling on foot. Understanding I was a printer, she would have had² me remain in that town and follow my business, being ignorant what stock was necessary to begin with. She was very hospitable, gave me a dinner of ox-cheek with great good will, accepting³ only of a pot of ale in return; and I thought myself fixed till Tuesday should come. However, walking in the evening by the side of the river, a boat came by, which I found was going towards Philadelphia with several people in her⁴. They took me in, and as there was no wind, we rowed⁵ all the way; and about midnight, not having yet seen⁶ the city, some of the company were confident we must have passed it, and would row no further⁷; the others knew not⁸ where we were, so we put towards the shore⁹, got into a creek, landed near an old fence,

1) *This being Saturday* während es jetzt Sonnabend war. — 2) *she would have had* mit dem Acc. und Inf. ohne *to* (*me remain*) sie hätte es gern gesehen, daßs . . . — 3) *To accept of a proposal*. — 4) *in her*: die Bezeichnungen für Schiffe, Boote u. s. w. sind im Englischen weiblich. — 5) *to row* (spr. rō) rudern, *to row* (spr. rōũ) lärmern. — 6) *not having yet seen* da wir immer noch nicht . . . — 7) *further*; vgl. S. 25, Anm. 1. — 8) *knew not*; die Umschreibung mit *to do* unterbleibt nicht selten bei *to know* und *to doubt*; die Negation tritt dann nachdrücklicher hervor. — 9) *towards the shore*: der Delawarefluß ist dort schon von erheblicher Breite und hat zahlreiche Ausbuchtungen (*creeks*).

with the rails of which we made a fire, the night being cold, in October, and there we remained till daylight. Then one of the company knew¹ the place to be Cooper's Creek, a little above Philadelphia, which we saw as soon as we got out of the Creek, and arrived there about eight or nine o'clock on the Sunday morning, and landed at Market-street wharf².

I have been the more particular in this description of my journey, and shall be so of my first entry into that city, that you may³ in your mind compare such unlikely beginnings with the figure I have since made there⁴. I was in my working dress, my best clothes coming round by sea. I was dirty, from my being so long in the boat. My pockets were stuffed out with shirts and stockings, and I knew no one, nor where to look for lodging. Fatigued with walking, rowing, and the want of sleep, I was very hungry; and my whole stock of cash consisted in a single dollar, and about a shilling in copper coin, which I gave to the boatmen for my passage. At first they refused it, on account of my having rowed, but I insisted on their taking it. Man is sometimes more generous when he has little money than when he has plenty⁵; perhaps to prevent his being thought to have but little.

1) *Knew . . . to be* erkannten . . . als. — 2) *Market-street wharf*; als er, 62 Jahre später, eben an derselben Stelle bei seiner Rückkehr aus Frankreich landete, wurde er mit Glockengeläute und Kanonendonner empfangen. — 3) *that you may . . . compare*; vgl. S. 12, Anm. 3; *unlikely* wenig versprechend. — 4) *I have since made there*; vgl. Einleitung S. III f. — 5) *plenty*, zu ergänzen *of money*; vgl. noch S. 9, Anm. 2.

I walked towards the top of the street, gazing about till near Market Street, where I met a boy with bread. I had often made a meal of dry bread, and, inquiring where he had bought it, I went immediately to the baker's he directed me to. I asked for biscuits, meaning such as we had at Boston; that sort, it seems, was not made in Philadelphia. I then asked for a three-penny loaf, and was told they had none. Not knowing the different prices, nor the names of the different sorts of bread, I told him to give me three-penny worth of any¹ sort. He gave me accordingly three great puffy rolls. I was surprised at the quantity, but took it, and, having no room in my pockets, walked off with a roll under each arm, and eating the other². Thus I went up Market Street as far as³ Fourth Street, passing by the door of Mr. Read, my future wife's father; when she, standing at the door, saw me and thought I made, as I certainly did, a most awkward, ridiculous appearance. Then I turned, and went down Chestnut Street and part of Walnut Street, eating my roll all the way, and, coming round, found myself again at Market-Street wharf, near the boat I came in, to which I went for a draught of the river water; and being filled⁴ with one of my rolls, gave the other two to a woman and her child that came down the river in the boat with us, and were waiting to go farther⁵.

1) *Any sort*; vgl. S. 1, Anm. 1. — 2) *the other: the third roll*. — 3) *as far as* bis zu; *till* wird nur bei Zeitbestimmungen gebraucht. — 4) *filled* gesättigt. — 5) *farther*; vgl. S. 25, Anm. 1.

Thus refreshed, I walked again up the street, which by this time had many clean-dressed people in it, who were all walking the same way. I joined them, and thereby was led into the great meeting-house of the Quakers near the market. I sat down among them, and, after looking round a while, and hearing nothing said, being very drowsy through¹ labour and want of rest the preceding night, I fell fast asleep, and continued so till the meeting broke up, when some one was kind enough to rouse me. This, therefore, was the first house I was in, or slept in, in Philadelphia.

I then walked down towards the river², and looking in the faces of every one, I met a young Quaker man, whose countenance pleased me, and, accosting him, requested he would tell me³ where a stranger could get a lodging. We were then near the sign of the Three Mariners. "Here," said he, "is a house where they receive strangers, but it is not a reputable one; if thou⁴ wilt walk with me, I'll show thee a better one;" and he conducted me to the Crooked Billet⁵, in Water Street. There I got a dinner; and while I was eating, several questions were asked me; as, from my youth and appearance, I was suspected of being a runaway.

After dinner, my host having shown me to a bed, I laid myself on it without undressing, and slept

1) *Through labour* s. v. a. *from labour*. — 2) *the river*: der Delaware. — 3) *he would tell me*; vgl. S. 25, Anm. 7. — 4) *thou*: die Quäker gebrauchen in der Anrede nie *you*, sondern *thou*. — 5) *Billet* das Herbergszeichen, also *Crooked Billet* Wirtshaus zum Krummen Holz.

till six in the evening, when I was called to supper. I went to bed again very early, and slept very soundly till next morning. Then I dressed myself as neat¹ as I could, and went to Andrew Bradford, the printer's. I found in the shop the old man his father, whom I had seen at New York, and who, travelling on horseback, had got to Philadelphia before me. He introduced me to his son, who received me civilly, gave me a breakfast, but told me he did not at present want a hand, being lately supplied with one; but there was another printer in town, lately set up, one² Keimer, who perhaps might employ me; if not, I should be welcome to lodge at his house, and he would give me a little work to do now and then, till fuller business should offer.

The old gentleman said he would go with me to the new printer; and when we found him, "Neighbour," said Bradford, "I have brought to see you a young man of your business; perhaps you may want such a one." He asked me a few questions, put a composing-stick³ in my hand to see how I worked, and then said he would employ me soon, though he had just then nothing for me to do. And taking old Bradford, whom he had never seen before, to be one of the town's people that had a good will⁴ for him, entered into a conversation on

1) *Neat* ist prädikatives Adjektiv, während im Deutschen hier das Adverb gebraucht wird. — 2) *one* ein gewisser. — 3) *composing-stick* Winkelhaken (Instrument, das beim Setzen gebraucht wird). — 4) *a good will* Gewogenheit.

his present undertaking and prospects; while Bradford, not discovering that he was the other printer's father, on Keimer's saying he expected soon to get the greatest part of the business into his own hands, drew him on, by artful questions, and starting little doubts, to explain all his views, what influence he relied on, and in what manner he intended to proceed. I, who stood by and heard all, saw immediately that one was a crafty old sophister, and the other a true novice. Bradford left me with Keimer, who was greatly surprised when I told him who the old man was.

Keimer had a house, indeed¹, but without furniture, so he could not lodge me; but he got me a lodging at Mr. Read's, before mentioned, who was the owner of his house; and, my chest of clothes being come² by this time, I made rather a more respectable appearance in the eyes of Miss Read than I had done when she first happened to see me eating my roll in the street.

I began now to have some acquaintance among the young people of the town that were lovers of reading, with whom I spent my evenings very pleasantly; and gained money by my industry and frugality. I lived very contented³, and forgot Boston as much as I could, and did not wish it should be known where I resided, except to my friend Collins, who was in the secret, and kept it faithfully. At length, however, an incident happened that occasioned

1) *Indeed* zwar. — 2) *being come*; vgl. S. 11, Anm. 5.
— 3) *I lived very contented*; vgl. S. 32, Anm. 1.

my return home much sooner than I had intended. I had a brother-in-law, Robert Holmes, master of a sloop that traded between Boston and Delaware¹. He being at Newcastle, forty miles below Philadelphia, and hearing of me², wrote me a letter mentioning the grief of my relations and friends in Boston at my abrupt departure, assuring me of their good will to me, and that everything would be accommodated to my mind, if I would return; to which he entreated me earnestly. I wrote an answer to his letter, thanked him for his advice, but stated my reasons for quitting Boston so fully³ and in such a light as to convince him⁴ that I was not so much in the wrong as he had apprehended.

Sir William Keith⁵, Governor of the province, was then at Newcastle, and Captain Holmes, happening to be in company with him when my letter came to hand, spoke to him of me, and showed him the letter. The Governor read it, and seemed surprised when he was told my age⁶. He said I appeared a young man of promising parts, and therefore should be encouraged; the printers at Philadelphia were wretched ones; and if I would set up there, he made no doubt I should succeed; for his part he would procure me the public business⁷,

1) Delaware, Name der damaligen Kolonie (Provinz), des jetzigen Staates. — 2) *hearing of me*; wie dies möglich war, ist leider nicht angegeben. — 3) *fully* vollständig. — 4) *as to convince him* so daß ich ihn davon überzeugte. — 5) *Keith* spr. kèth. — *The province*: Pennsylvanien. — 6) *my age*: 17 Jahre. — 7) *the public business* Drucksachen für die Regierungsbehörden.

and do me every other service in his power. This my brother-in-law Holmes afterwards told me in Boston; but I knew as yet nothing of it; when one day, Keimer and I, being at work together near the window, we saw the Governor and another gentleman, (who proved to be Colonel French, of Newcastle, in the province of Delaware) finely dressed, come directly across the street to our house, and heard them at the door.

Keimer ran down immediately, thinking it a visit to him; but the Governor inquired for me, came up, and with a condescension and politeness I had been quite unused to, made me many compliments, desired to be acquainted with me, blamed me kindly for not having made myself known to him, when I first came to the place, and would have me away with him¹ to the tavern, where he was going with Colonel French to taste, as he said, some excellent madeira. I was not a little² surprised, and Keimer stared with astonishment. I went, however, with the Governor and Colonel French to a tavern, and over the madeira he proposed my setting up my business. He stated the probabilities of my success, and both he and Colonel French assured me I should have their interest³ and influence to obtain for me the public business of both governments⁴. And as I expressed doubts that my father would

1) *Would have me away with him* lud mich ein. —
2) *not a little* gar sehr. — 3) *interest* Fürsprache, Unterstützung. — 4) *both governments*: Pennsylvanien und Delaware.

assist me in it, Sir William said he would give me a letter to him, in which he would set forth the advantages, and he did not doubt he should determine him to comply. So it was concluded I should return to Boston by the first vessel, with the Governor's letter to my father. In the mean time it was to be kept a secret, and I went on working with Keimer as usual. The Governor sent for me now and then to dine with him, which I considered a great honour; more particularly as he conversed with me in a most affable, familiar, and friendly manner.

About the end of April, 1724, a little vessel offered for Boston. I took leave of Keimer, as going to see my friends¹. The Governor gave me an ample letter, saying many flattering things of me to my father, and strongly recommending the project of my setting up at Philadelphia, as a thing that would make my fortune. We struck on a shoal in going down the bay, and sprung a leak; we had a blustering time at sea, and were obliged to pump almost continually, at which² I took my turn. We arrived safe, however, at Boston in about a fortnight. I had been absent seven months, and my friends had heard nothing of me; for my brother Holmes was³ not yet returned, and had not written about me. My unexpected appearance surprised the family; all were, however, very glad to see me, and made

1) *As going to see my friends* „unter dem Vorwand, meine Verwandten besuchen zu wollen.“ — 2) *which*; wenn sich das Relativ auf einen Satzteil oder einen ganzen Satz bezieht, so wird *which* gebraucht. — 3) *was returned*; vgl. S. 11, Anm. 5; *brother* ist hier s. v. a. *brother-in-law*.

me welcome, except my brother. I went to see him at his printing-house. I was better dressed than ever while in his service, having a genteel new suit from head to foot, a watch, and my pockets lined with near five pounds sterling in silver. He received me not very frankly, looked me all over, and turned to his work again.

My father received the Governor's letter with some surprise, but said little of it to me for some time. Captain Holmes returning, he showed it to him, and asked him if he knew Sir William Keith, and what kind of man he was; adding that he must¹ be of small discretion to think of setting a youth up in business who wanted three years to arrive at man's estate. Holmes said what he could in favour of the project, but my father was decidedly against it, and at last gave a flat denial. He wrote a civil letter to Sir William, thanking him for the patronage he had so kindly offered me, and declined to assist me as yet in setting up, I being in his opinion too young to be trusted with the management of an undertaking so important, and for which the preparation required a considerable expenditure.

My old companion Collins, who was a clerk in the post-office, pleased with the account I gave him of my new country, determined to go thither also; and while I waited for my father's determination,

1) *He must be*; in der indirekten Rede steht *must* auch als Präteritum, während in der direkten Rede das Präteritum durch *was obliged* ersetzt wird; *discretion* Einsicht.

he set out before me by land to Rhode Island, leaving his books, which were a pretty collection in mathematics and natural philosophy¹, to come with mine and me to New York, where he proposed to wait for me.

My father, though he did not approve Sir William's proposition, was yet pleased that I had been able to obtain so advantageous a character² from a person of such note where I had resided; and that I had been so industrious and careful as to equip myself so handsomely in so short a time; therefore seeing no prospect of an accommodation between my brother and me, he gave his consent to my returning again to Philadelphia, advised me to behave respectfully to the people there, and endeavour to obtain the general esteem; telling me that, by steady industry and prudent parsimony, I might save enough by the time I was³ one and twenty to set me up⁴; and that if I came near the matter⁵ he would help me out with the rest. This was all I could obtain, except some small gifts as tokens of his and my mother's love, when I embarked again for New York; now with their approbation and their blessing.

1) *Natural philosophy* Naturwissenschaften. —
2) *character*; vgl. S. 22, Anm. 4. — 3) *the time I was*; vgl. S. 3, Anm. 5. — 4) *to set me up*; die genauere Sprache verlangt jetzt *myself*. — 5) *if I came near the matter*: wenn ich die Summe nahezu aufgebracht hätte.

IV.

THE sloop putting in at Newport, Rhode Island, I visited my brother John, who had been married and settled there some years. He received me very affectionately, for he always loved me. A friend of his, one Vernon, having¹ some money due to him in Pennsylvania, about thirty-five pounds currency², desired I would³ recover it for him, and keep it till I had his directions what⁴ to employ it in. Accordingly he gave me an order to receive it. This business afterwards occasioned me a good deal of uneasiness.

At New York I found my friend Collins, who had⁵ arrived there some time before me. We had been intimate from children⁶, and had read the same books together; but he had the advantage of more time for reading and studying, and a wonderful genius for mathematical learning, in which he far outstripped me. While I lived in Boston, most of my hours of leisure for conversation were spent with him, and he continued⁷ a sober as well as industrious lad, was much respected for his learning by several of the clergy and other gentlemen, and seemed to promise making a good figure in life.

1) *Having . . . due to him* der Geld . . . ausstehen hatte. — 2) *currency* Courant. — 3) *I would recover*; vgl. S. 25, Anm. 7. — 4) *what to employ it in* wozu ich es verwenden sollte. — 5) *who had arrived*; vgl. S. 11, Anm. 5. — 6) *from children* ist der Plural zu *from a child* von Kindheit an; vgl. noch S. 8, Anm. 7. — 7) *he continued* er blieb; vgl. S. 5, Anm. 2,

But, during my absence, he had acquired a habit of drinking brandy; and I found by his own account, as well as that of others, that he had been drunk every day since his arrival at New York, and behaved himself in a very extravagant manner. He had gamed too, and lost his money, so that I was obliged to discharge his lodgings, and defray his expenses on the road and at Philadelphia; which¹ proved a great burden to me.

The then governor² of New York, Burnet, hearing from the captain that one of the passengers had a great many books on board, desired him to bring me to see him. I waited on him, and should have taken Collins with me, had he been sober. The Governor received me with great civility, showed me his library, which was a considerable one, and we had a good deal of conversation relative to books and authors. This was the second governor who had done me the honour to take notice of me; and, for a poor boy³ like me, it was very pleasing.

We proceeded to Philadelphia. I received in the way Vernon's money, without which we could hardly have finished our journey. Collins wished to be employed in some counting-house; but, whether they discovered his dram-drinking by his breath, or by his behaviour, though he had some recommendations, he met with no success in any application,

1) *Which*; vgl. S. 36, Anm. 2. — 2) *the then governor*; einzelne Adverbien können adjektivisch zwischen Artikel und Substantiv treten. — Der Gouverneur von New York sowie der Neuengland-Staaten wurde von der englischen Regierung ernannt. — 3) *a poor boy*: damals 18 Jahr alt.

and continued lodging and boarding at the same house with me, and at my expense. Knowing I had that money of Vernon's, he was continually borrowing of me, still promising repayment, as soon as he should be in business. At length he had got so much of it, that I was distressed to think what I should do, in case of being called on to remit it.

At length a West India captain, who had a commission to procure a preceptor for the sons of a gentleman at Barbadoes¹, met with him, and proposed to carry him thither to fill that situation. He accepted, and promised to remit me what he owed me out of the first money he should receive; but I never heard of him after.

The violation of my trust respecting Vernon's money was one of the first great *errata* of my life; and this showed that my father was not much out in his judgment, when he considered me as too young to manage business. But Sir William², on reading his letter, said he was too prudent, that there was a great difference in persons; and discretion did not always accompany years, nor was youth always without it. "But, since he will not set you up, I will do it myself. Give me an inventory of the things necessary to be had from England, and I will send for them. You shall repay me when you are able; I am resolved to have a good printer here³, and I am sure you must suc-

1) Barbadoes (bår-bå'-dəz) eine von den kleinen Antillen, seit 1624 englisch. — 2) Sir William Keith; vgl. S. 34, Anm. 5. — 3) *here*: Philadelphia hatte damals ca. 10 000 Einwohner.

ceed." This was spoken with such an appearance of cordiality, that I had not the least doubt of his meaning what he said. I had hitherto kept the proposition of my setting up a secret in Philadelphia, and I still kept it. Had it been known¹ that I depended on the Governor, probably some friend that knew him better, would have advised me not to rely on him; as I afterwards heard it as his known character to be liberal of promises, which he never meant to keep. Yet, unsolicited as he was by me, how could I think his generous offers insincere? I believed him one of the best men in the world.

I presented him an inventory of a little printing-house, amounting, by my computation, to about one hundred pounds sterling. He liked it², but asked me if my being on the spot³ in England to choose the types, and see that everything was good of the kind, might not be of some advantage. "Then," said he, "when there⁴, you may make acquaintance, and establish correspondences in the bookselling and stationery line⁵." I agreed that this might be advantageous. "Then," said he, "get yourself ready to go with *Annis*;" which was the annual⁶ ship, and the only one, at that time, usually passing between London und Philadelphia. But as it would be some months before *Annis* sailed, I continued

1) *Had it been known*: Konditionalsatz ohne Konjunktion mit invertierter Wortfolge. — 2) *he liked it* es gefiel ihm. — 3) *on the spot* an Ort und Stelle. — 4) *when there*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 7. — 5) *line* Geschäftszweig. — 6) *the annual ship*, welches die Fahrt alljährlich macht.

working with Keimer, fretting extremely about the money Collins had got from me, and in great apprehensions of being called upon for it by Vernon; this, however, did not happen for¹ some years after.

I believe I have omitted mentioning, that in my first voyage from Boston to Philadelphia, being becalmed off Block Island², our crew³ employed themselves in catching cod, and hauled up a great number. Till then, I had stuck to my resolution to eat nothing that had had life; and on this occasion I considered, according to my master Tryon⁴, the taking⁵ every fish as a kind of unprovoked murder, since none of them had, nor could do us any injury that might justify this massacre. All this seemed very reasonable. But I had been formerly a great lover of fish, and, when it came out of the fryingpan, it smelt admirably well. I balanced some time between principle and inclination, till, recollecting that, when the fish were opened, I saw smaller fish taken out of their stomachs, then, thought I⁶, "If you eat one another, I don't see why we may not eat you." So I dined upon⁷

1) *Not . . . for*, jetzt gebräuchlicher *not . . . till*: erst. — 2) Block-Island, Insel an der Küste von Rhode Island. — 3) *crew* ist ein Kollektivum, daher *themselves*. — 4) *Tryon*; vgl. S. 18 unten. — 5) *the taking every fish*; diese Konstruktion kommt gar nicht selten vor, wird aber von den Grammatikern für nicht korrekt erklärt; man sage entweder *the taking of every fish* oder *taking* (ohne Artikel) *every fish*; vgl. S. 19, Anm. 1. — 6) *then thought I*; nach *I balanced, till . . .* ist eine Anakoluthie, veranlaßt durch den längeren Zwischensatz *recollecting . . . stomachs*. — 7) *to dine upon*, ebenso *to breakfast, to sup, to feast, to live, to subsist on (upon)*, aber nicht *to lunch on*.

cod very heartily, and have since continued to eat as other people, returning only now and then occasionally to a vegetable diet. So convenient a thing it is to be a *reasonable creature*, since it enables one to find or make a *reason* for every thing one has a mind to do.

Keimer and I lived on a pretty good familiar footing, and agreed tolerably well, for he suspected nothing of my setting up. He retained a great deal of his old enthusiasm, and loved argumentation. We therefore had many disputations. I used to work him so with my Socratic method, and had trepanned him so often by questions apparently so distant from any point we had in hand, yet by degrees leading¹ to the point, and bringing him into difficulties and contradictions, that at last he grew ridiculously cautious, and would hardly answer me the most common question without asking first. "What do you intend to infer from that?" However, it gave him so high an opinion of my abilities in the confuting way, that he seriously proposed my being his colleague in a project he had of setting up a new sect. He was to preach the doctrines, and I was to confound all opponents. When he came to explain with me upon the doctrines, I found several conundrums which I objected to, unless I might have my way a little too, and introduce some of mine².

Keimer wore his beard at full length, because somewhere in the Mosaic law it is said, "*Thou*

1) *Leading* und *bringing* sind Attribute zu *questions*.
— 2) *mine*, nämlich *doctrines* oder *conundrums*.

shalt not mar the corners of thy beard."¹ He likewise kept the Seventh day, Sabbath; and these two points were essential with him. I disliked both; but agreed to them on condition of his adopting the doctrine of not using animal food "I doubt," said he, "my constitution will not bear it." I assured him it would, and that he would be the better for it. He was usually a great eater, and I wished to give myself some diversion in half starving him. He consented to try the practice, if I would keep him company. I did so, and we held it for three months. Our provisions were purchased, cooked, and brought to us regularly by a woman in the neighbourhood, who had from me a list of forty dishes, which she prepared for us at different times, in which there entered neither fish, flesh, nor fowl. This whim suited me the better at this time from the cheapness of it, not costing us above eighteen pence sterling each per week. I have since kept several lents most strictly, leaving the common diet for that, and that for the common², abruptly, without the least inconvenience. So that I think there is little in the advice of making those changes by easy gradations. I went on pleasantly, but poor Keimer suffered grievously, grew tired of the project, longed for the flesh-pots of Egypt, and ordered a roast pig. He invited me and two women friends³ to dine with him; but, it

1) *Thou shalt not...* 3. Mos. 19, 27 (21, 5). — *Thou* wird in der biblischen Sprache durchweg gebraucht. — 2) *and that for the common* und zwar in der Regel. — 3) *women friends* oder *female friends* Freundinnen. — *roast pig* Spanferkel.

being brought too soon upon table, he could not resist the temptation, and ate the whole before we came.

I had made some courtship during this time to Miss Read¹. I had a great respect and affection for her, and had some reasons to believe she had the same for me; but, as I was about to take a long voyage, and we were both very young, only a little above eighteen, it was thought most prudent by her mother to prevent our going too far at present; as a marriage, if it was to take place, would be more convenient after my return, when I should be, as I hoped, set up in my business. Perhaps, too, she thought my expectations not so well founded as I imagined them to be.

The Governor, seeming to like my company, had me frequently at his house, and his setting me up was always mentioned as a fixed thing. I was to take with me² letters recommendatory to a number of his friends, besides the letter of credit to furnish me with the necessary money for purchasing the press, types, paper, &c. For these letters I was appointed to call at different times, when³ they were to be ready; but a future time was still⁴ named. Thus we went on till the ship, whose⁵ departure, too, had been several times postponed, was on the point of sailing. Then, when I called to take my leave and receive the letters,

1) *Miss Read*; vgl. S. 30. — 2) *to take with me*: nach London. — 3) *when they were to be ready* wenn sie fertig sein sollten. — 4) *still* allemal. 5) *whose*; vgl. S. 28 Anm. 4.

his secretary came out to me and said the Governor was extremely busy in writing, but would be down at Newcastle¹ before the ship, and then the letters would be delivered to me.

Having taken leave of my friends, and exchanged promises with Miss Read, I quitted Philadelphia, in the ship, which anchored at Newcastle. The Governor was there; but when I went to his lodging, his secretary came to me from him, with expressions of the greatest regret that he could not then see me, being engaged in business of the utmost importance; but that he would send the letters to me on board, wishing me heartily a good voyage and a speedy return, &c. I returned on board a little puzzled, but still not² doubting.

V.

MR. ANDREW HAMILTON, a celebrated lawyer of Philadelphia, had taken his passage in the same ship for himself and son³, with Mr. Denham, a Quaker merchant, and Messrs. Oniam and Russel, masters of an iron work in Maryland, who had engaged the great cabin; so that Ralph⁴ and I were

1) Newcastle, unterhalb Philadelphia am Delaware (dél-'ə-wär). — 2) *still not* immer noch nicht. — 3) *himself and son*; die Weglassung des Possessivs (*his* vor *son*) bei Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen gehört der Umgangssprache an. — 4) Ralph, Name eines jungen Kaufmanns, dessen Bekanntschaft Franklin in Philadelphia gemacht hatte, und der ebenfalls nach England fuhr, um sich dort ganz der Schriftstellerei zu widmen. — *to engage* belegen.

forced to take up with a berth in the steerage, and none on board knowing us, were considered as ordinary persons. But Mr. Hamilton and his son returned from Newcastle to Philadelphia; the father being recalled by a great fee to plead for a seized¹ ship. And, just before we sailed, Colonel French² coming on board, and showing me great respect, I was more taken notice of, and, with my friend Ralph, invited by the other gentlemen to come into the cabin, there being now room. Accordingly we removed thither.

Understanding that Colonel French had brought on board the Governor's despatches, I asked the captain for those letters that were to be under my care. He said all were put into the bag together, and he could not then³ come at them; but, before we landed in England, I should have an opportunity of picking them out; so I was satisfied for the present, and we proceeded on our voyage⁴. We had a sociable company in the cabin, and lived uncommonly well, having the addition of all Mr. Hamilton's stores, who had laid in⁵ plentifully. In this passage Mr. Denham contracted a friendship for me that continued during his life. The voyage was otherwise not a pleasant one, as we had a great deal of bad weather.

When we came into the Channel⁶, the captain

1) *Seized* mit Beschlag belegt. — 2) *Colonel French*; vgl. S. 35. — 3) *not then* jetzt nicht; *not* steht vor dem Wort, zu dem es gehört. — 4) *voyage* Seereise; *journey* Reise überhaupt; *travel* (meist nur im Plural) Entdeckungsreise. —

5) *to lay in* einthun. — 6) *The Channel* der Kanal la Manche

kept his word with me¹, and gave me an opportunity of examining the bag for² the Governor's letters. I found some upon which my name was put as under my care. I picked out six or seven, that, by the handwriting, I thought might be the promised letters, especially as one of them was addressed to Baskett, the King's printer, and another to some stationer. We arrived in London the 24th December, 1724. I waited upon the stationer, who came first in my way, delivering the letter as from Governor Keith. "I don't know such a person," said he. So putting the letter into my hand, he turned on his heel and left me to serve some customer. I found³ my friend Denham, and opened the whole affair to him. He let me into⁴ Keith's character, told me there was not the least probability that he had written any letters for me; that no one who knew him had the smallest dependence on him; and he laughed at the idea of the Governor's giving me a letter of credit, having, as he said, no credit to give. On my expressing some concern about what I should do, he advised me to endeavour getting⁵ some employment in the way of my business. "Among the printers here," said he, "you will improve yourself, and when you return to America, you will set up to greater advantage."

1) *With me* mir gegenüber. — 2) *for* nach. — 3) *to find* aufsuchen. — 4) *he let me into* er offenbarte mir. — 5) *to endeavour getting*; wie *to intend* und *to purpose* wird auch *to endeavour* — allerdings seltener — mit dem Gerundium konstruiert.

But what shall we think of a governor playing such pitiful tricks, and imposing so grossly on a poor ignorant boy! It was a habit he had acquired. He wished to please everybody; and, having little to give, he gave expectations. He was otherwise an ingenious, sensible man, a pretty good writer, and a good governor for the people; though not for his constituents, the Proprietaries¹, whose instructions he sometimes disregarded. Several of our best laws were of his planning, and passed² during his administration.

Ralph and I were inseparable companions. We took lodgings together in Little Britain³ at three shillings and sixpence a week; as much as we could then afford. He found some relations, but they were poor, and unable to assist him. He now let me know his intentions of remaining in London, and that he never meant to return to Philadelphia. He had brought no money with him; the whole he could muster having been expended in paying his passage. I had fifteen pistoles⁴; so he borrowed occasionally of me to subsist, while he was looking out for business.

1) *His constituents, the Proprietaries*; die Grundeigentümer, d. h. die beiden Söhne und Rechtsnachfolger W. Penns (der 1682 die Kolonie Pennsylvania gegründet), besaßen das Recht, den Gouverneur zu ernennen, sie waren also seine *constituents* (Vollmachtgeber) und gaben ihm *instructions*. Die Gouverneure der Kolonien nördlich von Pennsylvanien wurden von der Krone ernannt; vgl. S. 40, Anm. 2. — 2) *to pass* (von einem Gesetz) durchgehen, angenommen werden. — 3) *Little Britain*, Name eines Stadtteils in der *city*. — 4) *pistoles*, ursprünglich spanische Goldmünze, dann Rechnungsmünze, im Werte etwa von 15¹/₂ Mark.

For myself, I immediately got into work at Palmer's¹, a famous printing-house, where I continued near a year. I was pretty diligent, but I spent with Ralph a good deal of my earnings at plays² and public amusements. We had nearly consumed all my pistoles, and now just rubbed on³ from hand to mouth. He seemed quite to have forgotten his wife and child; and I by degrees my engagements with Miss Read, to whom I never wrote more than one letter, and that was to let her know I⁴ was not likely soon to return. This was another of the great *errata* of my life, which I could wish to correct, if I were to live it over again. In fact, by our expenses, I was constantly kept unable to pay my passage.

At Palmer's I was employed in composing for the second edition of Wollaston's⁵ "*Religion of Nature*." Some of his reasonings not appearing to me well founded, I wrote a little metaphysical piece in which I made remarks on them. It was entitled, "*A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain*." I inscribed⁶ it to my friend Ralph; I printed a small number. It occasioned my being more considered by Mr. Palmer, as a young man of some ingenuity, though he seriously expostulated with me upon the principles of my

1) *At Palmer's sc. office*; vgl. S. 19, Anm. 2. — 2) *plays* Theaterstücke. — 3) *to rub on* sich durchschlagen. — 4) *I was not likely to* . . . es wäre nicht wahrscheinlich, daß ich . . . — 5) Wollaston, englischer Moralschriftsteller, gest. 1726; sein Hauptwerk *Religion of Nature declined* erschien 1724. — 6) *to inscribe* widmen.

pamphlet, which to him appeared abominable. My printing this pamphlet was another *erratum*. While I lodged in Little Britain, I made an acquaintance with one Wilcox, a bookseller, whose shop was next door. He had an immense collection of secondhand books. Circulating libraries were not then in use; but we agreed that, on certain reasonable terms, which I have now forgotten, I might take, read, and return any¹ of his books. This I esteemed a great advantage, and I made as much use of it as I could.

My pamphlet² by some means falling into the hands of one Lyons³, a surgeon, author of a book entitled, "*The Infallibility of Human Judgment*," it occasioned an acquaintance between us. He took great notice of me, called on me often to converse on those subjects, carried me to the Horns⁴, and introduced me to Dr. Mandeville⁵, author of the "*Fable of the Bees*," who had a club there, of which⁶ he was the soul; being a most facetious, entertaining companion. Lyons too introduced me

1) *Any*; vgl. S. 1, Anm. 1. — 2) *my pamphlet ... falling, it occasioned*; die Satzbildung ist nicht ganz korrekt; vgl. S. 43, Anm. 6. — 3) *one Lyons*; vgl. S. 32, Anm. 2. — 4) *the Horns*, Name eines Bierhauses. — 5) Mandeville, von französischer Abkunft in Holland geboren, starb als Arzt in London 1733. Die „Bienenfabel“ erschien 1714, machte bedeutendes Aufsehen und wurde in viele Sprachen übersetzt; sie will die Notwendigkeit des Lasters und die Verkehrtheit der Tugend nachweisen. — 6) *of which*; mit Beziehung auf Kollektiva (*a club*) wird *which* seltener gebraucht als *that*; hier kann indessen *that* nicht gesetzt werden, da es nie nach einer Präposition steht.

to Dr. Pemberton¹, who promised to give me an opportunity, some time or other, of seeing Sir Isaac Newton², of which I was extremely desirous; but this never happened.

I had brought over a few curiosities, among which the principal was a purse made of the *asbestos*³, which purifies by fire. Sir Hans Sloane⁴ heard of it, came to see me, and invited me to his house in Bloomsbury Square, showed me all his curiosities, and persuaded me to add that to the number; for which he paid me handsomely.

I now began to think of getting⁵ a little beforehand, and, expecting better employment, I left Palmer's to work at Watts's, a still greater printing-house. Here I continued all the rest of my stay in London.

At my first admission into the printing-house I took to⁶ working at press, imagining I felt a want of the bodily exercise I had been used to in America, where press-work is mixed with the composing. I drank only water; the other workmen, near fifty in number, were great drinkers of beer. On occasion I carried up and down stairs a large form of types in each hand, when others carried but one in both

1) Dr. Pemberton, ein bedeutender Arzt und Mathematiker, Freund und Mitarbeiter Newtons, starb als Professor in Oxford 1771. — 2) Sir Isaac Newton, der große Physiker und Astronom, geb. 1643, gest. 1727 in London. — 3) *Asbestos*; Asbest, ein Mineral, das zu feuersicheren Geweben verarbeitet wird. — 4) Hans ist in England ein seltener Vorname; Sir Hans Sloane war der Leibarzt Georgs II.; er ist der Begründer des *British Museum*. — 5) *to get beforehand* vorwärts kommen. — 6) *to take to* sich an etwas machen, mit etwas beschäftigen.

hands. They wondered to see, from this and several instances, that the *Water-American*, as they called me, was *stronger* than themselves, who drank *strong* beer! We had an alehouse boy¹, who attended always in the house to supply the workmen. My companion at the press drank every day a pint² before breakfast, a pint at breakfast with his bread and cheese, a pint between breakfast and dinner, a pint at dinner, a pint in the afternoon about six o'clock, and another when he had done his day's work. I thought it a detestable custom; but it was necessary, he supposed, to drink *strong* beer that he might be³ *strong* to labour. I endeavoured to convince him that the bodily strength afforded by beer could only be in proportion to the grain or flour of the barley dissolved in the water of which it was made; that there was more flour in a pennyworth of bread; and therefore, if he could eat that with a pint of water, it would give him more strength than a quart⁴ of beer. He drank on, however, and had four or five shillings to pay out of his wages every Saturday night⁵ for that vile liquor; an expense I was free from. And thus these poor devils keep themselves always under⁶.

Watts, after some weeks, desiring to have me in the composing-room, I left the press-men; a new *bien venu*⁷ for drink, being five shillings, was de-

1) *Boy* Kellner. — 2) *a pint*(i) = $\frac{1}{2}$ Liter. — 3) *that he might be*; vgl. S. 12, Anm. 3. — 4) *a quart* = 2 pints. — 5) *Saturday night* Sonnabend Abend. — 6) *they keep themselves under* sie hindern sich selbst vorwärts zu kommen. — 7) *a new bien venu* ein Antrittsgeld.

manded of me by the compositors. I thought it an imposition, as I had paid one to the press-men; the master thought so too, and forbade my paying it¹. I stood out² two or three weeks, was accordingly considered as an excommunicate, and had³ so many little pieces of private malice practised on me, by mixing my sorts⁴, transposing and breaking my matter, &c. &c., if ever I stepped out of the room; and all ascribed to the *chapel*⁵ *ghost*, which⁶ they said ever haunted those not regularly admitted⁷; that, notwithstanding the master's protection, I found myself obliged to comply and pay the money; convinced of the folly of being on ill terms with those one is to live with continually.

I was now on a fair footing with them, and soon acquired considerable influence. I proposed some reasonable alterations in their *chapel* laws⁸, and carried them against all opposition. From my example, a great many of them left their muddling breakfast of beer, bread, and cheese, finding they could with me be supplied from a neighbouring house with a large porringer of hot water-gruel, sprinkled with pepper, crumbled with bread, and a

1) *Forbade my paying it*; dafür jetzt gebräuchlicher *forbade me to pay it*. — 2) *I stood out*; vgl. S. 14, Anm. 4. — 3) *I had . . . pieces . . . practised on me* mir wurden . . . Streiche . . . gespielt. — 4) *sorts* verschiedene Arten von Lettern. — *Matter* der Satz. — 5) *chapel* nennen die Setzer ihre Druckerei. — 6) *which* wird in der modernen Sprache nicht mehr auf Personen oder persönlich gedachte Wesen (*ghost*) bezogen. — 7) *those not admitted*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 1. — 8) *chapel laws*; die Buchdrucker haben noch heutzutage manche altertümliche Handwerksgebräuche.

bit of butter in it, for the price of a pint of beer, viz. three halfpence¹. This was a more comfortable as well as a cheaper breakfast, and kept their heads clearer. Those who continued sotting with their beer all day, were often, by not paying, out of credit at the alehouse, and used to make interest with² me to get beer; their *light*, as they phrased it, *being out*. I watched the pay-table on Saturday night, and collected what I stood engaged for them³, having to pay sometimes near thirty shillings a week on their accounts. This, and my being esteemed a pretty good *riggite*⁴, that is a jocular verbal satirist, supported my consequence in the society. My constant attendance (I never making a *St. Monday*) recommended me to the master; and my uncommon quickness at composing occasioned my being put upon work of despatch, which was generally better paid. So I went on now very agreeably.

My lodgings in Little Britain being too remote, I found another in Duke Street, opposite to the Romish Chapel. It was up three pair of stairs backwards, at an Italian warehouse⁵. A widow lady kept the house; she had a daughter, and a maid-servant, and a journeyman who attended the warehouse, but lodged abroad. After sending to

1) *Halfpence* spr. há'-pəns. — 2) *to make interest with* jem. Einfluß (Kredit) in Anspruch nehmen. — 3) *what I stood engaged for them* was ich für sie gutgesagt hatte; es fehlt eigentlich noch ein *for* (vor *what* oder hinter *engaged*). — 4) *riggite* Späßvogel. — 5) *Italian warehouse* Magazin von italienischen Eßwaren.

inquire my character at the house where I last lodged, she agreed to take me in at the same rate, three shillings and sixpence a week; cheaper, as she said, from¹ the protection she expected in having a man to lodge in the house. She was a widow, an elderly woman; had been bred a Protestant, being a clergyman's daughter, but was converted to the Catholic religion by her husband, whose memory she much revered; had lived much among people of distinction, and knew a thousand anecdotes of them as far back as the time of Charles the Second². She was lame in her knees with the gout, and therefore seldom stirred out of her room; so sometimes wanted company; and hers was so highly amusing to me, that I was sure to spend³ an evening with her whenever she desired it. Our supper was only half an anchovy each, on a very little slice of bread and butter, and half a pint of ale between us; but the entertainment was in her conversation. My always keeping good hours⁴, and giving little trouble in the family, made her unwilling to part with me; so that, when I talked of a lodging I had heard of, nearer⁵ my business, for two shillings a week, which, intent as I was on saving money, made some difference, she bid me not think of it, for she would abate me two shillings a week for the future; so I re-

1) *From* wegen. — 2) *Charles the Second*; vgl. S. 5, Anm. 6; er hatte die Katholiken sehr begünstigt. — 3) *I was sure to spend* . . . ich brachte sicher zu (Anglicismus). — 4) *my keeping good hours* mein zeitiges Nachhausekommen. — 5) *nearer* wird, wie der Positiv *near*, meist mit dem Accusativ konstruiert, dagegen *next* nur mit *to*.

mained with her at one shilling and sixpence as long as I stayed in London.

At Watts's printing-house I contracted an acquaintance with an ingenious young man, one Wygate, who, having wealthy relations, had been better educated than most printers¹; was a tolerable Latinist, spoke French, and loved reading. I taught him and a friend of his to swim, at twice going into the river, and they soon became good swimmers. He at length proposed to me travelling² all over Europe together, supporting ourselves everywhere by working at our business. I was once inclined to it; but, mentioning³ it to my good friend Mr. Denham, with whom I often spent an hour when I had leisure, he dissuaded me from it advising me to think only of returning to Pennsylvania, which he was now about to do, and carry over a great quantity of goods in order to open a store there. He proposed to take me over as his clerk, to keep his books, in which⁴ he would instruct me, copy his letters, and attend the store. He added that, as soon as I should be acquainted with mercantile business, he would promote me by sending me with a cargo of flour and bread to the West Indies, and procure me commissions from others which would be profitable; and, if I managed well, would establish me handsomely. The thing

1) *Most printers*; das Adjektivum *most* steht ohne Artikel. — 2) *he proposed . . . travelling*; vgl. S. 49, Anm. 5. — 3) *mentioning . . . he dissuaded*; die Konstruktion ist nicht korrekt; vgl. S. 52, Anm. 2. — 4) *in which*; vgl. S. 36, Anm. 2.

pleased me; for I was grown tired of London, remembered with pleasure the happy months I had spent in Pennsylvania, and wished again to see it. Therefore I immediately agreed on the terms of fifty pounds a year, less indeed than my then present gettings¹ as a compositor, but affording a better prospect.

I now took leave of printing, as I thought, for ever, and was daily employed in my new business, going about with Mr. Denham among the tradesmen to purchase various articles, and see them packed up, delivering messages, calling upon workmen to despatch, &c.; and, when all was on board, I had a few day's leisure. On one of these days, I was, to my surprise, sent for by a great man² I knew only by name, Sir William Wyndham, and I waited upon him. He had heard by some means or other of my teaching Wygate and another young man to swim in a few hours. He had two sons, about to set out on their travels; he wished to have³ them first taught swimming, and proposed to gratify me handsomely if I would teach them. They were⁴ not yet come to town, and my stay was uncertain; so I could not undertake it. But from the incident I thought it likely, that if I were to remain in England and open a swimming-school, I might get a good deal of money; and it struck me so strongly⁵,

1) *My then present gettings*; vgl. S. 40, Anm. 2. — 2) *a great man* ein vornehmer Mann (in dieser Bedeutung jetzt selten). — 3) *to have them taught* sie unterrichtet zu sehen. — 4) *they were come*; vgl. S. 11, Anm. 5. — 5) *it struck me so strongly* es leuchtete mir so sehr ein.

that, had¹ the overture been made me sooner, probably I should not so soon have returned to America. Many years after, you² and I had something of more importance to do with one of these sons of Sir William Wyndham, become Earl of Egremont³, which⁴ I shall mention in its place⁵.

Thus I passed about eighteen months⁶ in London; most⁷ part of the time I worked hard at my business, and spent but little upon myself except in seeing plays, and in books. My friend Ralph had kept me poor; he owed me about twenty-seven pounds, which I was now never likely to receive; a great sum out of my small earnings! I loved him, notwithstanding, for he had many amiable qualities. I had improved my knowledge, however, though I had by no means improved my fortune; but I had made some very ingenious acquaintance, whose conversation was of great advantage to me; and I had read considerably.

1) *Had the overture been made*; vgl. S. 42, Anm. 1. — 2) *you* Franklin's Sohn; vgl. S. 1, Anm. 2. — 3) *Earl of Egremont*. Earl Wyndham, Sohn von Sir W. Wyndham und Neffe des Herzogs von Somerset, wurde 1750 Earl of E., 1761 Staatssekretär und starb 1763. — 4) *which*; vgl. S. 36, Anm. 2. — 5) *in its place*; aus diesen und ähnlichen Andeutungen kann man schliessen, daß Franklin beabsichtigte, seine Autobiographie weiter zu führen; aber seine öffentliche Thätigkeit und nachher sein Gesundheitszustand verhinderten ihn an der Ausführung seines Planes. — 6) *eighteen, months* 24. Dezember 1724 (vgl. S. 49) bis 23. Juli 1726. — 7) *most part of*; vgl. S. 58, Anm. 1 und S. 9, Anm. 2.

VI.

WE sailed from Gravesend¹ on the 23d of July, 1726. For the incidents of the voyage, I refer you to my Journal², where you will find them all minutely related. Perhaps the most important part of that journal is the *plan*³ to be found in it, which I formed at sea, for regulating the future conduct of my life. It is the more remarkable, as being formed when I was so young⁴, and yet being pretty faithfully adhered to⁵ quite through to old age.

We landed at Philadelphia the 11th of October, where I found sundry alterations. Keith was no longer Governor, being superseded by Major Gordon; I met him walking the streets as a common citizen. He seemed a little ashamed at seeing me, and passed without saying any thing. I should have been as much ashamed at seeing Miss Read, had⁶ not her friends, despairing with reason of my return, after the receipt of my letter, persuaded her to marry another, one Rogers, a potter, which was done in my absence. With him, however, she was never happy, and soon parted from him. He got into debt, ran away in 1727 or 1728, went to the West Indies, and died there. Keimer had got a better house, a shop well supplied with stationery,

1) Gravesend an der Mündung der Themse. —

2) *Journal*: dieses Tagebuch ist erhalten, reicht vom 22. Juli bis 11. Oktober und umfaßt 25 Druckseiten Oktavformat. —

3) *plan*: dieser Plan hat sich leider nicht gefunden. —

4) *so young*: 20 Jahr alt. — 5) *adhered to* eingehalten. —

6) *had not her friends*; sgl. S. 42, Anm. 1.

plenty of new types, and a number of hands, though none good, and seemed to have a great deal of business.

Mr. Denham took a store in Water Street, where we opened our goods; I attended the business diligently, studied accounts, and grew in a little time expert at selling. We lodged and boarded together; he counselled me as a father, having a sincere regard for me. I respected and loved him, and we might have gone on together very happily; but, in the beginning of February, 1727, when I had just passed my twenty first year, we both were taken ill. My distemper was a pleurisy, which very nearly carried me off¹. I suffered a good deal, gave up the point² in my own mind, and was at the time rather disappointed when I found myself recovering; regretting, in some degree, that I must now, some time or other, have all that disagreeable work³ to go over again⁴. I forget⁵ what Mr. Denham's distemper was; it held him a long time, and at length carried him off. He left me a small legacy, as a token of his kindness for me, and he left me once more to the wide world; for the store was taken into the care of his executors, and my employment under him ended.

My brother-in-law, Holmes, being now at Philadelphia, advised my return to my business; and Keimer tempted me, with an offer of large wages

1) *To carry off* hinraffen. — 2) *to give up the point* die Sache aufgeben, sich für verloren halten. — 3) *that . . . work* das Leiden. — 4) *to go over again* nochmals durchmachen. — 5) *I forget*; Anglicismus: ich habe vergessen.

by the year, to come and take the management of his printing-house, that¹ he might better attend to his stationer's shop. I wished for employment as a merchant's clerk; but, not meeting with any, I closed again with Keimer.

I soon perceived that the intention of engaging me at wages, so much higher than he had been used to give, was, to have² his raw, cheap hands³ formed through me; and, as soon as I had instructed them, they being all articulated to him⁴, he should be able to do without me⁵. I went⁶, however, very cheerfully, put his printing-house in order, which had been in great confusion, and brought his hands by degrees to mind their business and to do it better; they all respected me the more, as they found Keimer incapable of instructing them, and that from me they learned something daily. My acquaintance with ingenious people in the town increased. We never worked on Saturday, that being Keimer's Sabbath⁷, so that I had two days for reading. Keimer himself treated me with great civility and apparent regard, and nothing now made me uneasy but my debt to Vernon, which I was yet unable to pay, being hitherto but a poor economist. He however kindly made no demand of it.

Our printing-house often wanted sorts⁸, and

1) *That he might attend*; vgl. S. 12, Anm. 3. — 2) *to have his hands formed*; vgl. S. 59, Anm. 3. — *through* s. v. a. by. — 3) *hands* Arbeiter. — 4) *they being articulated to him* da sie an ihn fest gebunden waren. — 5) *to do without me* ohne mich fertig zu werden. — 6) *to go* (hier) verfahren. — 7) *Keimer's Sabbath*; vgl. S. 45. — 8) *sorts*; vgl. S. 55, Anm. 4.

there was no letter-foundery in America; I had seen types cast in London, but without much attention to the manner; however, I contrived a mould, and thus supplied in a pretty tolerable way all deficiencies. I also engraved several things on occasion; made the ink¹; I was warehouse-man, and in short, quite a *fac-totum*².

But, however³ serviceable I might be, I found that my services became every day of less importance, as the other hands improved in their business; and, when Keimer paid me a second quarter's wages, he let me know that he felt them too heavy, and thought I should make an abatement. He grew by degrees less civil, put on more the airs of master, frequently found fault, was captious, and seemed ready for an outbreking. I went on nevertheless with a good deal of patience, thinking that his incumbered circumstances were partly the cause. At length a trifle snapped our connexion; for, a great noise happening near the court-house, I put my head out of the window to see what was the matter. Keimer, being in the street, looked up and saw me, called out to me in a loud voice and angry tone to mind my business; adding some reproachful words, that nettled me the more for their publicity; all the neighbours who were looking out on the same occasion being witnesses how I was treated. He came up immediately into the

1) *Ink* Druckerschwärze; *warehouse-man* Lagerverwalter. — 2) *quite a fac-totum*; man beachte die Wortstellung. — 3) *however serviceable* oder *how serviceable soever*.

printing-house, continued the quarrel, high words passed on both sides, he gave me the quarter's warning¹ we had stipulated, expressing a wish that he had not been obliged² to so long a warning. I told him his wish was unnecessary, for I would leave him that instant; and so taking my hat walked out of doors, desiring Meredith³, whom I saw below, to take care of some things I left, and bring them to my lodgings.

Meredith came accordingly in the evening, when we talked my affair over. He had conceived a great regard for me, and was very unwilling that I should leave the house while he remained in it. He dissuaded me from returning to my native country, which I began to think of; he reminded me that Keimer was in debt for all he possessed, that his creditors began to be uneasy; that he kept his shop miserably, sold often without a profit for ready money⁴, and often trusted without keeping accounts; that he must⁵ therefore fail, which would make a vacancy I might profit of. I objected my want of money. He then let me know that his father had a high opinion of me, and, from some discourse that had passed between them, he was sure would advance money to set me up, if I would enter into partnership with him. "My

1) *The quarter's warning* Kündigung für den nächsten Quartalstermin. — 2) *that he had not been obliged* ist der Irrealis: daßs er sich nicht verpflichtet haben möchte. — 3) *Meredith*, ein Setzer in Keimers Druckerei. — 4) *for ready money*: nur um bares Geld zu bekommen. — 5) *that he must fail*; vgl. S. 37, Anm. 1.

time," said he, "will be out with Keimer in the spring; by that time we may have our press and types in from London. I am sensible I am no workman; if you like it, your skill in the business shall be set against the stock I furnish, and we will share the profits equally."

The proposal was agreeable to me, and I consented; his father was in town and approved of it; the more as he said I had great influence with¹ his son, had prevailed on him to abstain long from dram-drinking, and he hoped might break him of that wretched habit entirely, when we came to be so closely connected. I gave an inventory to the father, who carried it to a merchant; the things were sent for, the secret was to be kept till they should arrive, and in the mean time I was to get work, if I could, at the other printing-house. But I found no vacancy there, and so remained idle a few days, when Keimer, on a prospect of being employed to print some paper money in New Jersey, which would require cuts and various types that I only could supply, and apprehending Bradford² might engage me and get the job from him³, sent me a very civil message, that old friends should not part for a few words, the effect of sudden passion, and wishing me to return. Meredith persuaded me to comply, as it would give more opportunity for his improvement under my daily instructions; so I returned, and

1) *With*; vgl. S. 49, Anm. 1. — 2) *Bradford*; vgl. S. 32 f. — 3) *get . . . from him* ihm abnehmen.

we went on more smoothly than for some time before. The New Jersey job was obtained, I contrived a copper-plate press for it, the first that had been seen in the country; I cut several ornaments and checks ¹ for the bills. We went together to Burlington ², where I executed the whole to satisfaction; and he received so large a sum for the work, as to be enabled thereby to keep himself longer from ruin.

At Burlington I made acquaintance with many principal people of the province. Several of them had been appointed by the Assembly ³ a committee ⁴ to attend the press, and take care that no more bills were printed than the law directed. They were therefore by turns constantly with us, and generally he who attended brought with him a friend or two for company. My mind having been much more improved by reading than Keimer's, I suppose it was for that reason my conversation seemed to be more valued. They had me ⁵ to their houses, introduced me to their friends, and showed me much civility; while he, though the master, was a little neglected. These friends were afterwards of great use to me, as I occasionally was to some of them. They all continued their regard for me as long as they lived.

Before I enter upon my public appearance in business, it may be well ⁶ to let you know the

1) *Check* Vignette; *bill* Banknote. — 2) *Burlington*; vgl. S. 27, Anm. 1. — 3) *the Assembly* die gesetzgebende Versammlung; hier die A. von New Jersey. — 4) *a committee* als Kommission. — 5) *they had me to their houses* (Anglicismus) sie nahmen mich mit nach Hause. — 6) *well* wird oft als prädikatives Adjektiv gebraucht.

then state¹ of my mind, with regard to my principles and morals, that² you may see how far those influenced the future events of my life. I was convinced that *truth*, *sincerity* and *integrity*, in dealings between man and man, were of the utmost importance to the felicity of life; and I formed written resolutions, which still remain in my journal book³, to practise them ever while I lived. And this persuasion, with the kind hand of Providence, or some guardian angel, or accidental favourable circumstances and situations, or all together, preserved me, through this dangerous time of youth and the hazardous situations I was sometimes in among strangers, remote from the eye and advice of my father⁴, free from any *wilful* gross immorality or injustice. I say *wilful*, because the instances⁵ I have mentioned had something of *necessity* in them, from my youth, inexperience, and the knavery of others. I had therefore a tolerable character to begin the world with⁶; I valued it properly, and determined to preserve it.

We had not been long returned to Philadelphia, before the new types arrived from London. We settled with⁷ Keimer, and left him by his consent

1) *The then state*; vgl. S. 40, Anm. 2. — 2) *that you may see*; vgl. S. 12, Anm. 3. — 3) *my journal book*; vgl. S. 61, Anm. 2. — 4) *of my father*; im Oktober 1723 hatte Franklin sein elterliches Haus verlassen und war im April des folgenden Jahres auf kurze Zeit zurückgekehrt, seitdem aber nicht mehr in Boston gewesen; erst 1733 besuchte er die Seinigen wieder. — 5) *the instances* die von ihm sogenannte *Errata*. — 6) *to begin the world with* um damit meine Laufbahn in der Welt zu beginnen. — *properly* richtig. — 7) *to settle with* abrechnen mit.

before he heard of it. We found a house to let near the Market, and took it. To lessen the rent, which was then but twenty-four pounds a year, we took in a glazier and his family, who were to pay a considerable part of it to us, and we to board with them. We had scarce opened our letters¹, and put our press in order, before² George House, an acquaintance of mine, brought a countryman to us, whom he had met in the street, inquiring for a printer. All our cash was now expended³ in the variety of particulars we had been obliged to procure, and this countryman's five shillings, being our first-fruits, and coming so seasonably, gave me more pleasure than any crown⁴ I have since earned; and the gratitude I felt towards House has made me often more ready than perhaps I otherwise should have been to assist young beginners.

VII.

I SHOULD have mentioned before that in the autumn of the preceding year I had formed most⁵ of my ingenious acquaintance into a club for mutual improvement, which we called the JUNTO; we met on Friday evenings. The rules⁶ that I drew up

1) *Letters* s. v. a. *types*. — 2) *before*; jetzt sagt man gewöhnlich *scarcely-when* kaum-als, — 3) *was expended* war schon erschöpft. — 4) *crown* = Krone (Silbermünze = 5 Schilling). — 5) *most of*; vgl. S. 58, Anm. 1. — 6) *the rules*; dies Statut ist unter dem Titel *Rules for a Club established in Philadelphia* in Franklins „Vermischten

required that every member, in his turn, should produce one or more queries on any point of Morals, Politics, or Natural Philosophy¹, to be discussed by the company; and once in three months produce and read an essay of his own writing, on any subject he pleased. Our debates were to be under the direction of a president, and to be conducted in the sincere spirit of inquiry after truth, without fondness for dispute, or desire of victory; and, to prevent warmth², all expressions of positiveness³ in opinions, or direct contradiction, were after some time made contraband, and prohibited under small pecuniary penalties.

The club continued almost forty years, and was the best school of philosophy, morality, and politics, that then existed in the province⁴; for our queries, which were read the week preceding their discussion, put us upon⁵ reading with attention on the several subjects, that we might speak more to the purpose; and here too we acquired better habits of conversation, everything being studied in our rules which might prevent our disgusting each other. Hence the long continuance of the club, which I shall have frequent occasion to speak further⁶ of hereafter.

Schriften“ (*Miscellaneous Pieces*), welche 1779 in London erschienen, vollständig abgedruckt, sodann von Herder 1792 in seinen „Briefen zur Beförderung der Humanität“ ausführlich besprochen.

1) *Natural Philosophy* Naturwissenschaft. — 2) *warmth* Erregung. — 3) *positiveness* Rechthaberei. — 4) *the province*: Pennsylvanien. — 5) *to put upon* antreiben. — 6) *further*; vgl. S. 25, Anm. 1.

But my giving this account of it here, is to show something of the interest¹ I had, every one of the members exerting themselves in recommending business to us. Breintnal² particularly procured us from the Quakers the printing of forty sheets of their history, and upon these we worked exceedingly hard, for the price was low. I composed a sheet a day³, and Meredith worked it off⁴ at press. It was often eleven at night, and sometimes later, before I had finished my distribution for the next day's work; for the little jobs sent in by our other friends now and then put us back. But so determined I was to continue doing a sheet a day, that one night, when, having imposed my forms, I thought my day's work over, one of them by accident was broken. I immediately composed it over again before I went to bed; and this industry, visible to our neighbours, began to give us character⁵ and credit; particularly I was told that mention being made of the new printing-office, at the merchants' every-night club, the general opinion was that it must⁶ fail, there being already two printers in the place, Keimer and Bradford; but Dr. Baird gave a contrary opinion; "For the industry of that Franklin," said he, "is superior to any thing I ever saw of the kind; I see him still at work when I go home from club⁷, and he

1) *Interest* Nutzen. — 2) Breintnal, ein Mitglied des Klubs. — 3) *a day*, distributiv: jeden Tag. — 4) *to work off* abziehen (vom Buchdrucker). — 5) *character* Ruf. — 6) *it must fail*; vgl. S. 37, Anm. 1. — 7) *from club*, ohne Artikel, wie *from school, from church, from town* u. a.

is at work again before his neighbours are out of bed." This struck the rest¹, and we soon after had offers from one of them to supply us with stationery; but as yet we did not choose to engage in shop business.

I mention this industry more particularly and the more freely, though it seems to be talking in my own praise, that² those of my posterity who shall read it may know the use of that virtue, when they see its effects in my favour throughout this relation.

I soon intended to begin a newspaper. My hopes of success were founded on this: that the then³ only newspaper, printed by Bradford, was a paltry thing, wretchedly managed, no way entertaining, and yet was profitable to him; I therefore freely thought a good paper would scarcely fail of good encouragement. But Keimer, who heard of my plan, immediately, to be beforehand with me, published proposals for one⁴ himself. I was vexed at this; and to counteract him, not being able to commence our paper, I wrote several amusing pieces for Bradford's paper, under the title of *THE BUSY BODY*⁵, which Breintnal continued some months. By this means the attention of the public was fixed on that paper, and Keimer's proposals, which we burlesqued and ridiculed, were disregarded. He began his paper, however; and, before carrying

1) *The rest* die anderen (Anwesenden). — 2) *that*; vgl. S. 12, Anm 3. — 3) *the then newspaper*; vgl. S. 40, Anm. 2. — 4) *one*, nämlich *newspaper*. — 5) *Busy Body* „Neuigkeitskrämer“.

it on three quarters of a year, with at most only ninety subscribers, he offered it me for a trifle; and I, having been ready some time to go on with it, took it in hand directly; and it proved¹, in a few years, extremely profitable to me.

I perceive that I am apt to speak in the singular number, though our partnership still continued; it may be that in fact the whole management of the business lay upon me. Meredith was no compositor, a poor pressman, and seldom sober. My friends lamented my connexion with him, but I was to make² the best of it.

Our first papers made quite a different appearance from any before in the province; a better type, and better printed; but some remarks of my writing³ on the dispute then going on between Governor Burnet⁴ and the Massachusetts Assembly⁵, struck the principal people, occasioned the paper and the manager of it to be much talked of, and in a few weeks brought them all to be our subscribers.

Their example was followed by many, and our number went on growing continually. This was one of the first good effects of my having learned a little to scribble; another was, that the leading

1) *It proved*; die erste von Franklin herausgegebene Nummer dieser Zeitung, „*Pennsylvania Gazette*,“ erschien am 25. September 1729. — 2) *to make the best of* die beste Seite abzugewinnen suchen. — 3) *of my writing* von meiner Hand. — 4) *Governor Burnet* ohne Artikel. — 5) *the Massachusetts Assembly*; Namen von Städten und Ländern, sowie Stoffnamen werden oft als attributive (nicht als prädikative) Adjektive gebraucht. *A London merchant; a silk gown.*

men, seeing a newspaper now in the hands of those who could also handle a pen, thought it convenient to oblige and encourage me. Bradford still printed the votes¹, and laws, and other public business. He had printed an address of the House² to the Governor, in a coarse, blundering manner; we reprinted it elegantly and correctly, and sent one to every member. They were sensible of the difference, it strengthened the hands of our friends in the House, and they voted³ us their printers for the year ensuing⁴.

Among my friends in the House, I must not forget Mr. Hamilton, before mentioned⁵, who was then returned from England, and had a seat in it. He interested himself for me strongly in that instance, as he did in many others afterwards, continuing his patronage till his death.

Mr. Vernon, about this time, put me in mind of the debt⁶ I owed him, but did not press me. I wrote to him an ingenuous⁷ letter of acknowledgment, craving his forbearance a little longer, which he allowed me. As soon as I was able, I paid the principal with the interest, and many thanks; so that *erratum* was in some degree corrected.

But now another difficulty came upon me, which I had never the least reason to expect. Mr. Mere-

1) *Votes* Protokolle. — 2) *the House* = *the Assembly* die gesetzgebende Körperschaft von Pennsylvania. — 3) *to vote* wird mit dem doppelten Akkusativ konstruiert. — 4) *ensuing* gehört zu den Adjektiven, welche gern nachgesetzt werden. — 5) *before mentioned*; vgl. oben S. 47. — 6) *the debt*; vgl. oben S. 39. — 7) *ingenious* (in-jěn'-) offenerzig, *ingenious* (in-jé'-) geistreich.

dith's father, who was to have paid¹ for our printing-house, according to the expectations given me, was able to advance only one hundred pounds, which had been paid; and a hundred more were due to the merchant, who grew impatient and sued us all. We gave bail, but saw that if the money could not be raised in time, the suit must soon come to a judgment and execution, and our hopeful prospects must² with us be ruined; as the press and letters must be sold for payment³, perhaps at half price.

In this distress two true friends, whose kindness I have never forgotten, nor ever shall forget⁴ while I can remember any thing, came to me separately, unknown to each other, and, without any application from me, offered each of them to advance me all the money that should be necessary to enable me to take the whole business upon myself, if that should be practicable; but they did not like my continuing the partnership with Meredith, who, as they said, was often seen drunk in the street, much to our discredit. These two friends were William Coleman and Robert Grace. I told them I could not propose a separation, while any prospect remained of the Merediths' fulfilling their part of our agreement, because I thought myself under

1) *Who was* (oder *ought*) *to have paid* der hätte bezahlen sollen. — 2) *must*; vgl. S. 37, Anm. 1. — 3) *for payment* um die Schuld zu bezahlen. — 4) *I have never forgotten*; in seinem Testament vom Jahre 1788 erwähnt Franklin diesen Vorgang und setzt 2000 Pfund Sterling aus, um davon an junge Handwerker bei ihrer ersten Einrichtung Darlehen zu gewähren.

great obligations to them for what they had done, and would do if they could; but if they finally failed in their performance, and our partnership must be dissolved, I should then think myself at liberty to accept the assistance of my friend.

Thus the matter rested for some time, when I said to my partner, "Perhaps your father is dissatisfied at the part you have undertaken in this affair of ours¹, and is unwilling to advance for you and me, what he would for you. If that is the case, tell me, and I will resign the whole to you, and go about my business." "No," said he, "my father has really been disappointed, and is really unable; and I am unwilling to distress him further. I see this is a business I am not fit for. I was bred a farmer², and it was folly in me to come to town, and put myself, at thirty years of age, an apprentice to learn a new trade. Many of our Welsh people³ are going to settle in North Carolina, where land is cheap. I am inclined to go with them, and follow my old employment; you may find friends to assist you. If you will take the debts of the company upon you, return to my father the hundred pounds he has advanced, pay my little personal debts, and give me thirty pounds and a new saddle, I will relinquish the partnership

1) *This affair of ours*; vgl. S. 7, Anm. 4. — 2) *I was bred a farmer*; prädikative Gattungsnamen, welche den Stand u. ä. bezeichnen, haben im Englischen den unbestimmten Artikel; vgl. in demselben Satze: *to put myself an apprentice*. — 3) *our Welsh people*; M.'s Familie stammte aus Wales.

and leave the whole in your hands." I agreed to this proposal; it was drawn up in writing, signed, and sealed immediately. I gave him what he demanded, and he went soon after to Carolina, whence he sent me next year two long letters, containing the best account that had been given of that country, the climate, the soil, and husbandry, for in those matters he was very judicious. I printed them in the papers¹, and they gave great satisfaction to the public.

As soon as he was gone², I recurred to my two friends; and because I would not give an unkind preference to either, I took half of what each had offered and I wanted of one, and half of the other, paid off the company's debts, and went on with the business in my own name, advertising that the partnership was dissolved. I think this was in or about the year 1730.

I soon after obtained, through my friend Hamilton, the printing of the Newcastle³ paper money, another profitable job, as I then thought it; small things appearing great to those⁴ in small circumstances; and these to me were really great advantages, as they were great encouragements. Mr. Hamilton procured for me also the printing of the laws and votes of that government⁵; which continued in my hands as long as I followed the business.

1) *The papers* die Zeitung. — 2) *he was gone*; vgl. S. 11, Anm. 5. — 3) *the Newcastle paper money*; vgl. S. 73, Anm. 5 und S. 47, Anm. 1. — 4) *those in small circumstances*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 1. — 5) *that government*: die Kolonie Delaware.

I now opened a small stationer's shop. I had in it blanks¹ of all kinds; the correctest that ever appeared among us. I had also paper, parchment, chapmen's books², &c. I began now³ gradually to pay off the debt I was under for the printing-house. In order to secure my credit and character as a tradesman, I took care not only to be in *reality* industrious and frugal, but to avoid the appearances to the contrary. I dressed plain⁴, and was seen at no places of idle diversion. I never went out a fishing or shooting; a book indeed sometimes debauched me from my work, but that was seldom, was private, and gave no scandal; and, to show that I was not above my business, I sometimes brought home the paper I purchased at the stores through the streets on a wheelbarrow. Thus being⁵ esteemed an industrious, thriving young man, and paying duly for what I bought, the merchants who imported stationery solicited my custom⁶; others proposed supplying⁷ me with books, and I went on prosperously. In the mean time, Keimer's credit and business declining daily, he was at last forced to sell his printing-house, to satisfy his creditors. He went to Barbadoes, and there lived some years in very poor circumstances.

1) *blanks* Formulare. — 2) *chapmen's books* durch Kolporteure vertriebene Volksschriften. — 3) *I began now*; einige Zeilen vorher steht: *I now opened*; diese letztere Wortstellung ist die jetzt übliche. — 4) *I dressed plain* ich kleidete mich einfach; vgl. S. 32, Anm. 1. — 5) *thus being esteemed ... the merchants ...*; unkorrekter Satzbau; vgl. S. 52, Anm. 2. — 6) *custom* Kundschaft. — 7) *proposed supplying me*; dafür jetzt üblicher *to supply me*.

There remained now no other printer in¹ Philadelphia but the old Bradford; but he was rich and easy², did a little in the business by straggling hands, but was not anxious about it. However, as he held the post-office, it was imagined he had better opportunities of obtaining news, his paper was thought a better distributor of advertisements than mine, and therefore had many more; which³ was a profitable thing to him, and a disadvantage to me.

VIII.

A friendly correspondence³ as neighbours had continued between me and Miss Read's family, who all had a regard for me from the time of my first lodging⁴ in their house. I was often invited there and consulted in their affairs, wherein I sometimes was of service. I pitied poor Miss Read's unfortunate situation, who was generally dejected, seldom cheerful, and avoided company. I considered my giddiness and inconstancy when⁵ in London, as, in a great degree, the cause of her unhappiness; though the mother was good enough to think the fault more her own than mine, as she had prevented

1) *In Philadelphia*; bei kleinen Ortschaften setzt Franklin stets *at* (*Burlington, Ecton, Newcastle, Newport*), bei größeren (*New York, Philadelphia*) steht abwechselnd *at* und *in*; aber stets in *London*. — 2) *easy* bequem; *straggling* ungeübt. — 3) *correspondence* Verkehr. — 4) *my first lodging in their house*; vgl. oben S. 33. — 5) *when in London*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 7.

our marrying before I went thither, and persuaded the other match in my absence. Our mutual affection was revived, but there were now great objections to our union. Though there was a report of his¹ death, it was not certain. Then though it should be true, he had left many debts, which his successor might be called upon to pay. We ventured, however, over all these difficulties, and I took her to wife, September 1st, 1730. None of the inconveniences happened that we had apprehended; she proved a good and faithful helpmate, assisted me much by attending to the shop; we throve together, and ever mutually endeavoured to make each other happy². Thus I corrected that great *erratum* as well as I could.

About this time, our club meeting, not at a tavern, but in a little room of Mr. Grace's³, set apart for that purpose, a proposition was made by me that, since our books were often referred to in our disquisitions upon the queries, it might be convenient to us to have them altogether where we met that upon occasion they might be consulted; and by thus clubbing our books in a common library, we should, while we liked to keep them together, have each of us the advantage of using

1) *His*; des ersten Mannes; vgl. S. 61. — 2) *to make each other happy*; Franklins Frau starb Ende 1774 in Philadelphia, während Franklin in London war. Aus dieser Ehe stammten 2 Söhne, von denen einer ganz jung starb, und eine Tochter Sarah, verheiratet seit 1767 an Richard Bache. Als seine Frau starb, waren seine 16 Geschwister, mit Ausnahme der jüngsten Schwester, sämtlich schon gestorben. — 3) *a room of Mr. Grace's*; vgl. S. 13, Anm. 4.

the books of all the other members, which would be nearly as beneficial as if each owned the whole. It was liked and agreed to, and we filled one end of the room with such books as we could best spare¹. The number was not so great as we expected; and, though they had been of great use, yet some inconveniences occurring for want of due care of them, the collection, after about a year, was separated, and each took his books home again.

And now I set on foot my first project of a public nature, that for a subscription library. I drew up the proposals, and, by the help of my friends in the Junto, procured fifty subscribers of forty shillings each to begin with, and ten shillings a year for fifty years, the term² our company was to continue. This was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous. These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen³ from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand⁴ so generally made throughout the colonies in defence of their privileges.

The objections and reluctances⁵ I met with in soliciting the subscriptions made me soon feel the impropriety of presenting one's self as the proposer

1) *To spare* entbehren. — 2) *the term* ist Apposition zu *fifty years*, und hinter *term* ist *that* zu ergänzen; vgl. S. 3, Anm. 5. — 3) *gentlemen* (hier) gebildete Leute (im Gegensatz zu *common tradesmen and farmers*). — 4) *the stand* der Widerstand. — 5) *the reluctances*; der Plural des Abstraktums mit Bezug auf eine Mehrzahl von Personen.

of any¹ useful project that might be supposed to raise one's reputation in the smallest degree above that of one's neighbours, when one has need of their assistance to accomplish that project. I therefore put myself as much as I could out of sight, and stated it as a scheme of a *number of friends*, who had requested me to go about and propose it to such as² they thought lovers of reading. In this way my affair went on more smoothly, and I ever after practised it on such occasions; and, from my frequent successes, can heartily recommend it. The present little sacrifice of your vanity will afterwards be amply repaid. If it remains a while uncertain to whom the merit belongs, some one more vain than yourself may be encouraged to claim it, and then even envy will be disposed to do you justice, by plucking those assumed feathers, and restoring them to their right owner.

This library afforded me the means of improvement by constant study, for which I set apart an hour or two each³ day, and thus repaired in some degree the loss of the learned education my father once intended for me. Reading was the only amusement I allowed myself. I spent no time in taverns, games, or frolics of any kind; and my industry in my business continued as indefatigable as it was necessary. I was indebted for my printing-house; I had a young family coming on to be

1) *Any*; vgl. S. 10, Anm. 4. — 2) *such as* s. v. a. *those who*. — 3) *each day*; jetzt gewöhnlich *every day*.

educated, and I had two competitors to contend with for business who were established in the place before me. My circumstances however grew daily easier. My original habits of frugality continuing, and my father having, among his instructions to me when a boy, frequently repeated a proverb of Solomon, "*Seest thou¹ a man diligent in his calling, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men,*" I thence considered industry as a means of obtaining wealth and distinction, which² encouraged me; though I did not think that I should ever literally *stand before kings*, which, however, has since happened; for I have stood before *five³*, and even had the honour of sitting down with one, the King of Denmark, to dinner.

We have an English proverb that says, "*He that would thrive, must ask his wife.*" It was lucky for me that I had one as much disposed to industry and frugality as myself. She assisted me cheerfully in my business, folding and stitching pamphlets⁴, tending shop, purchasing old linen rags for the papermakers, &c. We kept no idle servants, our table was plain and simple, our furniture of the cheapest. For instance, my breakfast was for a

1) *Seest thou*; vgl. S. 45, Anm. 1. Die hier angezogene Stelle findet sich Sprüche Sal. 22, 29. — 2) *which*; vgl. S. 36, Anm. 2. — 3) *five*: nämlich zwei Könige von England, Georg II. und Georg III.; zwei Könige von Frankreich, Ludwig XV. und Ludwig XVI., und der König Christian VII. von Dänemark, als dieser 1768 zum Besuch bei seinem Schwager Georg III. in London war; Ludwig XVI. schenkte Franklin sein Bild mit 408 Diamanten besetzt. — 4) *pamphlets* Broschüren.

long time bread and milk (no tea), and I ate it out of a two-penny earthen porringer, with a pewter spoon. But mark how luxury will enter¹ families, and make a progress, in spite of principle; being called one morning to breakfast, I found it in a China bowl, with a spoon of silver! They had been bought for me without my knowledge by my wife, and had cost her the enormous sum of three and twenty shillings; for which she had no other excuse or apology to make, but that she thought *her* husband deserved a silver spoon and China bowl as well as any of his neighbours. This was the first appearance of plate and China in our house; which afterwards, in a course of years, as our wealth increased, augmented gradually to several hundred pounds in value. —

It was about this time² I conceived the bold and arduous project of arriving at *moral perfection*. I wished to live without committing any fault at any time, and to conquer³ all that either natural inclination, custom, or company, might lead me into. As I knew, or thought I knew, what was right and wrong, I did not see why I might not *always* do the one and avoid the other. But I soon found I had undertaken a task of more difficulty than I had imagined. While my attention

1) *Will enter*; *I will* dient auch zum Ausdruck der wiederholten Handlungsweise: ich pflege. — 2) *it was about this time I conceived*; *it is (was) . . . that* dient, wie das französische *c'est . . . que*, zur Hervorhebung eines Wortes oder Satzgliedes; daß dieses *that* ausgelassen wird, wie hier, ist vergleichsweise seltener. — 3) *to conquer* überwinden.

was taken up, and care employed in guarding against one fault, I was often surprised by another; habit took the advantage of inattention; inclination was sometimes too strong for reason. I concluded at length that the mere speculative conviction, that it was our interest to be completely virtuous, was not sufficient to prevent our slipping; and that the contrary habits must be broken, and good ones acquired and established, before we can have any dependence on a steady, uniform rectitude of conduct.

But on the whole, though I never arrived at the perfection I had been so ambitious of obtaining, but fell far short of it, yet I was, by the endeavour, a better and happier man than I otherwise should have been, if I had not attempted it; as¹ those who aim at perfect writing by imitating the engraved copies², though they never reach the wished-for excellence of those copies, their hand is mended by the endeavour, and is tolerable while it continues fair and legible.

It may be well my posterity should³ be informed, that to this little artifice, with the blessing of God, their ancestor owed the constant felicity of his life, down to his seventy-ninth year, in which⁴ this is written. What reverses may attend the remainder is in the hand of Providence; but,

1) *As those . . . , though . . . , their hand is*; vgl. S. 52, Anm. 2. — 2) *the engraved copies* die gravierten (in Kupfer gestochenen) Schreibvorlagen; die Lithographie war damals noch nicht erfunden. — 3) *should be informed*; nach den Ausdrücken des Erforderns, Angemessenseins u. ä. steht *should*; *it may be well*: vgl. S. 67, Anm. 6. — 4) *in which*: im Jahre 1784; vgl. Einleitung S. VIII.

if they arrive, the reflection on past happiness enjoyed¹ ought to help his bearing them with more resignation. To *Temperance* he ascribes his long continued health, and what is still left to him of a good constitution; to *Industry* and *Frugality*, the early easiness² of his circumstances and acquisition of his fortune, with all that knowledge that enabled him to be a useful citizen, and obtained for him some degree of reputation among the learned; to *Sincerity* and *Justice*, the confidence of his country, and the honourable employs³ it conferred upon him; and to the joint influence of the whole mass of the virtues, even in the imperfect state he was able to acquire them, all that evenness of temper, and that cheerfulness in conversation, which makes his company still sought for, and agreeable even to his young acquaintance. I hope, therefore, that some of my descendants may follow the example and reap the benefit. —

A Quaker friend⁴ having kindly informed me that I was generally thought proud; that my pride showed itself frequently in conversation; that I was not content with being in the right when⁵ discussing any⁶ point, but was overbearing, and

1) *Enjoyed*; zur Wortstellung vgl. S. 4, Anm. 5. —
 2) *easiness* Behaglichkeit. *Circumstances* (Vermögens-) Verhältnisse. — 3) *the honourable employs* die Ehrenämter; zur Sache vgl. Einleitung S. IV. — 4) *a Quaker friend* ein befreundeter Quäker. — 5) *when discussing*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 7. — 6) *any point*; die jetzige Sprache verlangt hier *some point*; vgl. S. 10, Anm. 4.

rather insolent, of which¹ he convinced me by mentioning several instances, I determined to endeavour to cure myself, if I could, of this vice or folly among the rest².

I cannot boast of much success in acquiring the *reality* of this virtue, but I had a good deal³ with regard to the appearance of it. I made it a rule to forbear all direct contradiction to the sentiments of others, and all positive assertion of my own. I even forbid⁴ myself, agreeably to the old laws of our Junto, the use of every word or expression in the language that imported a fixed opinion; such as *certainly, undoubtedly, &c.*, and I adopted instead of them, *I conceive*⁵, *I apprehend*, or *I imagine*, a thing to be so or so; or it so *appears to me at present*. When another asserted something that I thought an error, I denied myself⁶ the pleasure of contradicting him abruptly, and of showing⁷ immediately some absurdity in his proposition; and in answering I began by observing that, in certain cases or circumstances, his opinion would be right, but in the present case there *appeared* or *seemed to me* some difference, &c. I soon found the advantage of this change in my manners: the conversations I engaged in went on more pleasantly. The modest way in which I proposed my opinions, procured them a readier

1) *Of which*; vgl. S. 36, Anm. 2. — 2) *among the rest* nebst den anderen. — 3) *a good deal*; erg. *of success*. — 4) *I forbid* ist Präteritum, *myself* Dativ. — *agreeably to* gemäfs. — 5) *I conceive*; vgl. die ähnliche Stelle S. 21. — 6) *myself* ist Dativ. — 7) *to show* nachweisen.

reception and less contradiction; I had less mortification, when I was found to be in the wrong; and I more easily prevailed with others to give up their mistakes and join with me, when I happened to be¹ in the right.

And this mode, which I at first put on with some violence² to natural inclination, became at length easy, and so habitual to me, that perhaps for the last fifty years no one has ever heard a dogmatical³ expression escape me. And to this habit (after⁴ my character of integrity) I think it principally owing, that I had early so much weight with⁵ my fellow citizens, when I proposed new institutions or alterations in the old⁶, and so much influence in public councils, when I became a member; for I was but a bad speaker, never eloquent, subject to much hesitation in my choice of words, hardly correct in language, and yet I generally carried my point⁷.

In reality there is perhaps no⁸ one of our natural passions so hard to subdue as *pride*. Disguise it, struggle with it, stifle it, mortify it as much as one pleases, it is still alive, and will every now and then peep out and show itself;

1) *I happened to be* ich war zufällig. — 2) *violence to* Gewaltthätigkeit gegen: „indem ich meiner Neigung Gewalt anthat“. — 3) *dogmatical* bestimmt behauptend. — 4) *after* nächst. *Character of integrity* makelloser Ruf. — 5) *with* bei. — 6) *in the old*, nicht *old ones*, denn das stellvertretende *one* wird nicht gesetzt, wenn die Adjektive „einen entschiedenen Gegensatz“ (*new — old*) ausdrücken. — 7) *I carried my point* ich setzte meine Sache durch. — 8) *no one*; die korrekte Sprache verlangt jetzt *none* oder *not one*, und für *to subdue* in der folgenden Zeile *to be subdued*.

you will see it, perhaps, often in this history. For, even if I could conceive that I had completely overcome it, I should probably be *proud* of my humility.

IX.

In 1732, I first published my Almanac, under the name of *Richard Saunders*¹; it was continued by me about twenty-five years, and commonly called *Poor Richard's Almanac*. I endeavoured to make it both entertaining and useful, and it accordingly came to be in such demand, that I reaped considerable profit from it; vending annually near ten thousand. And observing that it was generally read, scarce any neighbourhood in the province² being without it, I considered it as a proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common people, who bought scarcely any other books. I therefore filled all the little spaces, that occurred between the remarkable days in the Calendar, with proverbial sentences, chiefly such as inculcated industry and frugality, as the means of procuring wealth, and thereby securing virtue; it being more difficult for a man in want to act always honestly, as³, to use here one of those proverbs, *it is hard for an empty sack to stand upright*.

1) Richard Saunders war der Name des langjährigen Herausgebers eines amerikanischen Volkskalenders. — 2) *the province: Pennsylvania*. — 3) *as* steht nicht etwa inkorrekt Weise für *than*, sondern *more difficult* ist absolut gebraucht und mit *as* fängt ein Vergleichungssatz an.

These proverbs, which contained the wisdom of many ages and nations, I assembled and formed into a connected discourse prefixed to the Almanac of 1757, as the harangue of a wise old man to the people attending an auction. The bringing¹ all these scattered counsels thus into a focus enabled them to make greater impression. The piece, being universally approved, was copied² in all the newspapers of the American Continent, reprinted in Britain on a large sheet of paper, to be stuck up in houses; two translations were made of it in France, and great numbers bought by the clergy and gentry, to distribute³ gratis among their poor parishioners and tenants. In Pennsylvania, as it discouraged useless expense in foreign superfluities, some thought it had its share of influence in producing that growing plenty of money which was observable for several years after its publication.

I considered my newspaper, also, as another means of communicating instruction, and in that view frequently reprinted in it extracts from the *Spectator*⁴, and other moral writers; and sometimes published little pieces of my own, which had been first composed for reading⁵ in our Junto.

I had begun in 1733 to study languages; I

1) *The bringing these counsels*; vgl. S. 43, Anm. 5. — 2) *to copy* abdrucken. — 3) *to distribute*, genauer jetzt *to be distributed*; vgl. S. 88, Anm. 8. — Der "*Poor Richard*" ist nachher noch dreimal ins Französische, sowie ins Spanische und Neugriechische übersetzt worden. — 4) *the Spectator*; vgl. S. 17, Anm. 2. — 5) *for reading* zum Vorlesen.

soon made myself so much a¹ master of the² French, as to be able to read the books in that language with ease. I then undertook the Italian. An acquaintance, who was also learning it, used often³ to tempt me to play at chess with him. Finding this took up too much of the time I had to spare⁴ for study, I at length refused to play any more, unless on this condition, that the victor in every game should have a right to impose a task, either of parts of the grammar to be got by heart, or in translations, which tasks the vanquished was to perform upon honour before our next meeting. As we played pretty equally, we thus beat one another into that language. I afterwards, with a little pains-taking, acquired as much of the Spanish as to read their books also.

I have already mentioned that I had only one year's instruction in a Latin school, and that when very young⁵, after which I neglected that language entirely. But when I had attained an acquaintance with the French, Italian, and Spanish, I was surprised to find, on looking over a Latin Testament, that I understood more of that language than I had imagined; which encouraged me to apply myself again to the study of it, and I met with more success, as those preceding languages had greatly smoothed my way.

1) *I made myself a master*; vgl. S. 76, Anm. 2. — 2) *the French* das Französische; jetzt sagt man in der Regel *the French language* oder bloß *French* (ohne Artikel). — 3) *used often*; vgl. S. 78, Anm. 3. — 4) *I have to spare* ich habe übrig. — 5) *when very young*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 7.

My first promotion was my being chosen¹, in 1736, clerk of the General Assembly². The choice was made that year without opposition; but the year following³, when I was again proposed, (the choice like that of the members being annual,) a new member made a long speech against me, in order to favour some other candidate. I was however chosen, which was the more agreeable to me, as, besides the pay for the immediate service of clerk, the place gave me a better opportunity of keeping up an interest⁴ among the members, which secured to me the business of printing the votes, laws, paper-money, and other occasional jobs for the public, that, on the whole, were very profitable.

I therefore did not like the opposition of this new member, who was a gentleman of fortune and education, with talents that were likely⁵ to give him in time great influence in the House, which indeed afterwards happened. I did not, however, aim at gaining his favour by paying any servile respect to him, but, after some time, took this other method. Having heard that he had in his library a certain very scarce⁶ and curious book, I wrote a note to him, expressing my desire of perusing that book, and requesting that he would do⁷ me the favour of lending it to me for

1) *My being chosen* meine Wahl. — 2) *General Assembly* s. v. a. *Assembly* und *the House*; vgl. S. 74, Anm. 2. — 3) *the year following*; vgl. S. 4, Anm. 5, doch sagt man ebenso gut *the following year*. — 4) *to keep up an interest* einen Einfluß bewahren. — 5) *likely* geeignet; vgl. noch S. 51, Anm. 4. — 6) *scarce*, dafür gebraucht die heutige Sprache als Adjektiv *rare*. — 7) *he would do*; vgl. S. 25, Anm. 7.

a few days. He sent it immediately; and I returned it in about a week with another note, expressing strongly the sense of the favour. When we next met in the House, he spoke to me, which he had never done before, and with great civility; and he ever after manifested a readiness to serve me on all occasions, so that we became great friends, and our friendship continued to his death. This is another instance of the truth of an old maxim I had learned, which says, "*He that has once done you a kindness, will be more ready to do you another than he whom you yourself have obliged.*" And it shows how much more profitable it is prudently to remove than to resent, return, and continue, inimical proceedings.

In 1737, Colonel Spotswood, late governor¹ of Virginia, and then postmaster-general², being dissatisfied with the conduct of his deputy³ at Philadelphia, took from him the commission⁴, and offered it to me. I accepted it readily, and found it of great advantage; for though the salary was small, it facilitated the correspondence that improved my newspaper, increased the number demanded⁵, as well as the advertisements to be inserted, so that it came to afford me a considerable income.

I began now to turn my thoughts to public affairs, beginning, however, with small matters. The

1) *Late governor* der frühere Gouverneur. — 2) *postmaster-general* der sämtlichen Kolonien, von der Krone ernannt. — 3) *deputy* Agent; es war dies der alte Bradford; vgl. S. 79. — 4) *the commission* das Mandat, die Stelle. — 5) *the number demanded*; vgl. S. 4, Anm. 5.

city watch was one of the first things that I conceived to want regulation. It was managed by the constables of the respective wards in turn¹; the constable summoned a number of housekeepers² to attend him for the night. Those, who chose never to attend, paid him six shillings a year to be excused, which was supposed to go³ to hiring⁴ substitutes, but was in reality much more than was necessary for that purpose, and made the constablenesship a place of profit; and the constable, for a little drink, often got such ragamuffins about him as a watch, that respectable housekeepers did not choose to mix with. Walking the rounds, too, was often neglected, and most of the nights spent in tippling. I thereupon wrote a paper to be read in the Junto, representing these irregularities, but insisting more particularly on the inequality of the six shilling tax⁵ of the constable, respecting the circumstances of those who paid it; since a poor widow housekeeper, all whose property⁶ to be guarded by the watch did not perhaps exceed the value of fifty pounds, paid as much as the

1) *In turn* oder *by turns* abwechselnd. — 2) *housekeeper* Hausvater. — 3) *to go to* draufgehn für, verwandt werden für. — 4) *to hiring*; nach der Präposition *to* findet sich das Gerundium jetzt nur selten. Während hier steht *hiring substitutes*, heißt es im folgenden Absatz *the hiring of proper men* (die jetzt gebräuchliche Konstruktion), dann *the levying a tax* (vgl. S. 43, Anm. 5) und im folgenden Absatz *removing of goods* (vgl. S. 19, Anm. 1). — 5) *the six shilling tax* (nicht *shillings*) wie *a five pound note*, *an 80 gun ship*. — 6) *all whose property*; man beachte die Wortstellung. *To be guarded by the watch* steht attributiv zu *property*: deren gesamtes, durch den Wächter zu behütendes Eigentum.

wealthiest merchant, who had thousands of pounds' worth of goods in his stores.

On the whole I proposed as a more effectual watch, the hiring of proper men to serve constantly in the business; and as a more equitable way of supporting the charge, the levying a tax that should be proportioned to the property. This idea, being approved by the Junta, was not immediately carried into execution, yet, by preparing the minds of people for the change, it paved the way for the law obtained a few years after, when the members of our club were¹ grown into more influence.

About this time I wrote a paper (first to be read in the Junta, but it was afterwards published,) on the different accidents and carelessnesses² by which houses were set on fire, with cautions against them, and means proposed of avoiding them. This was spoken of as a useful piece, and gave rise to a project, which soon followed it, of forming a company for the more ready extinguishing of fires, and mutual assistance in removing and securing of goods when in danger³. Associates in this scheme were presently found, amounting to thirty. Our articles of agreement obliged every member to keep always in good order, and fit for use, a certain number of leathern buckets, with strong bags and baskets (for packing and transporting of goods), which were to be brought to

1) *Were grown*; vgl. S. 11, Anm. 5. — 2) *carelessnesses*; vgl. S. 81, Anm. 5; im allgemeinen ist der Plural von Substantiven auf *-ness* jetzt selten. — 3) *when in danger*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 7.

every fire; and we agreed once a month to spend a social evening together, in discoursing and communicating such ideas as occurred to us upon the subject of fires, as might be useful in our conduct on such occasions.

The utility of this institution soon appeared, and, in fact, since this time, the city has never lost by fire more than one or two houses at a time, and the flames have often been extinguished, before the house in which they began has been half consumed. —

My business was now constantly augmenting, and my circumstances growing daily easier, my newspaper having become very profitable, as being for a time almost the only one in this and the neighbouring provinces. I experienced, too, the truth of the observation, "*that after getting the first hundred pounds, it is more easy¹ to get the second;*" money itself being of a prolific nature.

The partnership at Charleston² having succeeded, I was encouraged to engage in others, and to promote several of my workmen, who had behaved well, by establishing them in printing-houses in different colonies, on the same terms with that in Carolina. Most³ of them did well⁴, being enabled at the end of our term, six years, to purchase the types of me, and go on working for themselves, by which means several families were raised.

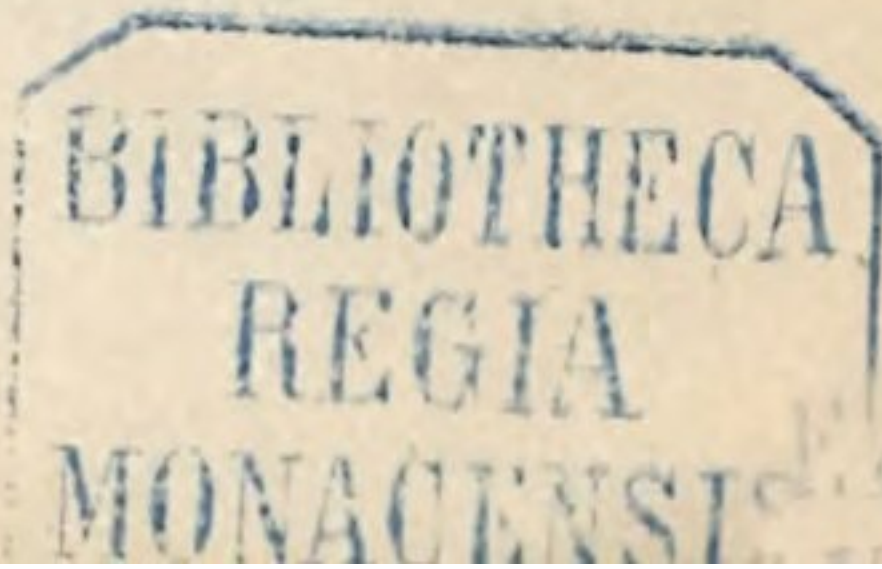
1) *More easy* scheint nachdrücklicher zu sein als *easier*. — 2) Charleston in Südkarolina; dort hatte Franklin mit einem seiner früheren Gehilfen eine Filiale errichtet. — 3) *most of them*; vgl. S. 58, Anm. 1. — 4) *I do well* es geht mir gut.

X.

I had on the whole abundant reason to be satisfied with my being established in Pennsylvania. There were, however, some things that I regretted, there being no provision for defence¹, nor for a complete education of youth; no militia, nor any college. I therefore, in 1743, drew up a proposal for establishing an academy; but I was obliged to let the scheme lie awhile dormant. I succeeded better the next year, 1744, in proposing and establishing a *Philosophical Society*².

With respect to defence, Spain³ having been several years at war against Great Britain, and being at length joined by France, which brought us into great danger⁴; and the laboured and long-continued endeavour of our governor, Thomas, to

1) *Provision for defence* Vorkehrungen zur Landesverteidigung. — 2) *a Philosophical Society*, deren ständiger Sekretär Franklin wurde; später entwickelte sie sich zu der großen *American Philosophical Society*, deren Präsident Franklin bis zu seinem Tode war. — *Philosophical* bedeutet hier übrigens naturwissenschaftlich; vgl. S. 70, Anm. 1. — *Natural philosopher* Physiker, *physician* Arzt. — 3) *Spain . . . France*; 1739 brach der sogenannte Schmuggelkrieg aus zwischen Spanien und England; die Franzosen, welche schon längst auf die Engländer eifersüchtig gewesen und bereits zu Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts längere Zeit die englischen Kolonien in Amerika bedroht hatten, schlossen 1743 ein Bündnis mit den Spaniern. Der Friede zu Aachen (1748) machte dem Kriege ein Ende. — 4) *into great danger*, insofern die Franzosen von ihrer Kolonie Kanada aus das Territorium der britischen Kolonien bedrohten; doch begann die eigentliche Gefahr erst 1746.



prevail with our Quaker Assembly¹ to pass a militia law, and make other provisions for the security of the province, having proved abortive, I proposed to try what might be done by a voluntary subscription of the people. To promote this, I first wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled PLAIN TRUTH, in which I stated our helpless situation in strong lights, with the necessity of union and discipline for our defence, and promised to propose in a few days an association, to be generally signed for that purpose. The pamphlet had a sudden and surprising effect. I was called upon² for the instrument of association. Having settled the draft of it with a few friends, I appointed a meeting of the citizens. I harangued them a little on the subject, read the paper³, explained it, and then distributed the copies⁴, which were eagerly signed, not the least objection being made.

When the company separated, and the papers were collected, we found above twelve hundred signatures; and, other copies being dispersed in the country, the subscribers amounted at length to upwards of ten thousand. These all furnished themselves as soon as they could with arms, formed themselves into companies and regiments, chose their own officers, and met every week to be instructed

1) *Quaker Assembly*; die Assembly von Pennsylvania bestand zum grofsen Teile aus Quäkern, wie denn Pennsylvanien ursprünglich von Quäkern besiedelt worden war. — Bekanntlich gehörte es zu den Glaubenssätzen der Quäker, keine Waffen zu tragen. — 2) *to call upon* auffordern; *instrument* Urkunde. — 3) *paper* Entwurf. — 4) *copies* gedruckte Exemplare des Entwurfs.

in the manual exercise, and other parts of military discipline. The women, by subscriptions among themselves, provided silk colours, which they presented to the companies, painted with different devices and mottos, which I supplied.

The officers of the companies composing the Philadelphia regiment being met¹, chose me for their colonel; but, conceiving myself unfit, I declined that station, and recommended Mr. Lawrence, a fine person, and a man of influence, who was accordingly appointed. I then proposed a lottery to defray the expense of building a battery below the town, and furnished² with cannon. It filled³ expeditiously, and the battery was soon erected. We bought some old cannon from Boston; but, these not being sufficient, we wrote to London for more; soliciting at the same time our Proprietaries⁴ for some assistance, though without much expectation of obtaining it⁵.

Meanwhile Colonel Lawrence, Mr. Allen, Abraham Taylor, and myself were sent to New York by the associators⁶, commissioned to borrow some cannon of Governor Clinton. He at first refused us⁷

1) *Being met* die versammelt waren. — 2) *furnished* ist Attribut zu *battery*. — *Cannon* (und *sail*) werden nur im Singular gebraucht; ebenso *horse* = Kavallerist und *foot* = Infanterist. *Cannon* heisst auch Artilleristen. "*A fleet of 20 sail landed 100 cannon, 10 000 foot, and 1000 horse.*" — 3) *It filled*: die Loose wurden schnell abgesetzt. — 4) *our Proprietaries*; vgl. S. 50, Anm. 1. — 5) *obtaining it*; hierin irrte sich Franklin nicht; aber die englische Regierung schickte einige Kanonen. — 6) *the associators*, die Mitglieder der *Association*, des Milizverbandes. — 7) *to refuse one* jemand abschlägig bescheiden.

peremptorily; but at a dinner with his council¹, where there was great drinking of Madeira wine, as the custom of that place then was, he softened by degrees, and said he would lend us six. After a few more bumpers he advanced to ten; and at length he very good-naturedly conceded eighteen. They were fine cannon, eighteen-pounders, with their carriages², which were soon transported and mounted on our batteries; where the associators kept a nightly guard, while the war lasted³; and among the rest⁴ I regularly took my turn of duty there, as a common soldier.

It was thought by some of my friends that, by my activity in these affairs, I should offend the Quakers, and thereby lose my interest⁵ in the Assembly of the province, where they formed a great majority. A young man, who had likewise some friends in the Assembly and wished to succeed me as their clerk, acquainted me that it was decided to displace me at the next election; and he through good will⁶ advised me to resign, as more consistent with my honour than being turned out. My answer to him was, that I had read or heard of some public man⁷, who made it a rule never to ask for an office, and never to refuse one when offered⁸ to him. "I approve," said I, "of this rule, and

1) *His council*: der aus 7 Mitgliedern bestehende ständige Beirat des Gouverneurs. — 2) *carriages* Lafetten. — 3) *while the war lasted*; bis 1748. — 4) *among the rest* mit den anderen. — 5) *interest* Einfluss. — 6) *through good will* wohlwollender Weise. — 7) *public men* Leute in öffentlicher Stellung. — 8) *when offered*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 7.

shall practise it with a small addition; I shall never *ask*, never *refuse*, nor ever RESIGN an office. If they will have my office of clerk to dispose of it to another, they shall take it from me. I will not, by giving it up, lose my right of some time or other making reprisal on my adversaries." I heard, however, no more of this; I was chosen again unanimously as clerk at the next election.

Indeed, I had some cause to believe that the defence of the country was not disagreeable to any of them¹, provided they were not required to assist in it. And I found that a much greater number of them than I could have imagined, though against *offensive* war, were clearly for the *defensive*². Many pamphlets *pro* and *con*³ were published on the subject, and some by good Quakers, in favour of *defence*; which I believe convinced most⁴ of their young people.

My being many years in the Assembly, a majority of which were⁵ constantly Quakers, gave me frequent opportunities of seeing the embarrassment given them by their principle against war, whenever application was made to them, by order of the crown, to grant aids for military purposes. They

1) *Of them* s. v. a. of the Quakers. — 2) *for the defensive*; vgl. S. 88, Anm. 6. — 3) *pro and con*; wir sagen: *pro* und *contra*; vgl. *cab* für *cabriolet*, *bus* für *omnibus* und ähnliche Verkürzungen der Volkssprache. — 4) *most of*; vgl. S. 58, Anm. 1. — 5) *a majority of which were*; man beachte die Stellung von *of which*. Wegen *which* vgl. S. 52, Anm. 6; es könnte auch heißen *whose majority*. Wegen des Plural *were* vgl. S. 43, Anm. 3.

were unwilling to offend government¹, on the one hand, by a direct refusal; and their friends, the body² of the Quakers, on the other, by a compliance contrary to their principles; using a variety of evasions to avoid complying, and modes of disguising the compliance, when it became unavoidable. The common mode at last was to grant money under the phrase of its being "*for the King's use*," and never to inquire how it was applied.

But if the demand was not directly from the crown, that phrase was found not so proper, and some other was to be invented. Thus, when powder was wanting for the garrison at Louisburg³, and the government of New England⁴ solicited a grant of some⁵ from Pennsylvania, which was much urged on the House by Governor Thomas, they would not grant money to buy *powder*, because that was an ingredient of war; but they voted an aid to New England of three thousand pounds, to be put into the hands of the Governor, and appropriated it for the purchase of bread, flour, wheat, or *other grain*. Some of the Council, desirous of giving the House still further embarrassment, advised the Governor

1) *Government* steht als Kollektivum, wie *Parliament*, ohne Artikel. Hier ist unter *government* die englische Regierung zu verstehen. — 2) *the body* die Körperschaft. Gesamtheit. — 3) Louisburg, eine starke Festung auf der Insel Cap Breton, am Südufer des S. Lorenzbusens, von den Franzosen 1716 angelegt, wurde 1746 von den Einwohnern von Massachusetts erobert, mußte aber im Frieden von Aachen 1748 wieder an die Franzosen zurückgegeben werden. — 4) *the government of New England*; die sogenannten Neu Englandstaaten (vgl. S. 6, Anm. 2) standen unter einem einzigen Gouverneur. — 5) *some*, nämlich *powder*.

not to accept that provision, as not being the thing he had demanded; but he replied, "I shall take the money, for I understand very well their meaning; *other grain* is gunpowder;" which he accordingly bought, and they never objected to it.

It was in allusion to this fact, that when in our fire company¹ we feared the success of the lottery, and I had said to a friend of mine, one of our members, "If we fail, let us move² the purchase of a fire engine³ with the money; the Quakers can have no objection to that; and then, we will buy a great gun, which is certainly a *fire engine*;" "I see," said he, "you have improved by being so long in the Assembly; your equivocal project would be just a match⁴ for their wheat or *other grain*."

In order of time⁵, I should have mentioned before that having, in 1742, invented an open stove for the better warming of rooms, and at the same time saving fuel, as the fresh air admitted was warmed in entering, I made a present of the model to Mr. Robert Grace⁶, one of my early friends, who, having an iron-furnace, found the casting of the plates for these stoves a profitable thing, as they were growing in demand. To promote that demand, I wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled, "An Account of the new-invented Pennsylvanian Fireplaces; wherein their Construction and Manner of

1) *Our fire company*; vgl. S. 95. — 2) *to move* beantragen. — 3) *fire engine* Feuerspritze (eigentlich Feuermaschine). — 4) *a match* ein Pendant (Seitenstück); *to be a match for* es aufnehmen können mit. — 5) *in order of time* der Zeitfolge gemäß. — 6) *Robert Grace*; vgl. S. 75.

Operation are particularly explained; their Advantages above every other Method of warming Rooms demonstrated; and all Objections that have been raised against the Use of them, answered and obviated," &c. This pamphlet had a good effect; Governor Thomas was so pleased with the construction of this stove, as described¹ in it, that he offered to give me a patent for the sole vending of them for a term of years; but I declined it from a principle which has ever weighed with me on such occasions, viz. *That, as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by any invention of ours; and this we should do freely² and generously.*

An ironmonger in London, however, assuming a good deal of my pamphlet, and working it up into his own, and making some small changes in the machine, which rather hurt its operation, got a patent for it there³, and made, as I was told, a little fortune by it. And this is not the only instance of patents taken out of my inventions by others, though not always with the same success; which I never contested, as¹ having no desire of profiting by patents myself, and hating disputes. The use of these fireplaces in very many⁴ houses, both here in Pennsylvania, and the neighbouring States, has been, and is, a great saving of wood to the inhabitants. —

1) *As described* und *as having*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 7. —
 2) *freely* unentgeltlich. — 3) *there*: in London. — 4) *very many*, gebräuchlicher a great many.

Peace¹ being concluded, and the Association² business therefore at an end, I turned my thoughts again to the affair of establishing an academy. The first step I took was to associate in the design a number of active friends, of whom the Junto furnished a good part; the next was to write and publish a pamphlet, entitled, *Proposals*³ *relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*. This I distributed among the principal inhabitants gratis; and as soon as I could suppose their minds a little prepared by the perusal of it, I set on foot a subscription for opening and supporting an academy; it was to be paid in quotas yearly for five years; by so dividing it I judged the subscription might be larger; and I believe it was so, amounting to no less, if I remember right, than five thousand pounds⁴.

In the introduction to these proposals, I stated their publication not as an act of mine, but of some *public-spirited*⁵ *gentlemen*; avoiding as much as I could, according to my usual rule⁶, the presenting myself⁷ to the public as the author of any scheme for their benefit.

The subscribers, to carry the project into immediate execution, chose out of their number twenty-four trustees, and appointed Mr. Francis, then attorney-general, and myself, to draw up con-

1) *Peace*: zu Aachen 1748. — 2) *the Association*; vgl. S. 99, Anm. 6. — 3) *Proposals* . . .; vgl. S. 97. — 4) *five thousand pounds* = über 100 000 Mark, eine beträchtliche Summe für eine Stadt von 10 000 Einwohnern, wie Philadelphia damals war. — 5) *public-spirited* eifrig für das Gemeinwohl. — 6) *my usual rule*; vgl. S. 81 f. — 7) *the presenting myself*; vgl. S. 43, Anm. 5.

stitutions for the government of the academy; which¹ being done and signed, a house was hired, masters engaged, and the schools opened; I think in the same year, 1749.

The scholars increasing fast, the house was soon found too small, and we were looking out for a piece of ground, properly situated, with intent to build, when an accident threw into our way a large house ready built, which with a few alterations might well serve our purpose. This was obtained for us. But the whole care and trouble of superintending the work fell upon me; and I went through it the more cheerfully, as it did not then interfere with my private business; having the year before taken a very able, industrious, and honest partner, Mr. David Hall, with whose character I was well acquainted, as he had worked for me four years. He took off my hands all care of the printing-office, paying me punctually my share of the profits. This partnership continued eighteen years, successfully for us both.

The funds of the academy were increased by contributions in Britain, and grants of land from the Proprietaries², to which the Assembly has since made considerable addition; and thus was established the present University of Philadelphia. I have been continued³ one of its trustees from the beginning, now near forty years⁴, and have had the very great pleasure of seeing a number of the youth, who have

1) *Which*; vgl. S. 36, Anm. 2. — 2) *Proprietaries*; vgl. S. 50, Anm. 1. — 3) *I have been continued* ich bin stets wiedergewählt worden. — 4) *now*: 1788.

received their education in it, distinguished by their improved abilities, serviceable in public stations, and ornaments to their country.

XI.

WHEN I was disengaged myself, as above mentioned, from private business, I flattered myself that, by the sufficient though moderate fortune I had acquired, I had found leisure during the rest of my life for philosophical¹ studies and amusements. I proceeded in my electrical experiments with great alacrity; but the public, now considering me as a man of leisure, laid hold of me for their² purposes; every part of our civil government³, and almost at the same time, imposing some duty upon me. The Governor put me into the commission of the peace⁴; the corporation of the city chose me one of the common council⁵, and soon after alderman; and the citizens at large⁶ elected me a burgess to represent them in the Assembly. This latter station was the more agreeable to me, as I grew at length

1) *Philosophical*; vgl. S. 97, Anm. 1. — 2) *their*; vgl. S. 43, Anm. 3. — 3) *civil government* Civilverwaltung. — 4) *commission of the peace* Körperschaft der Friedensrichter (*justices of the peace*). — 5) *common council* (etwa s. v. a.) Stadtverordneten-Versammlung. — *alderman* (etwa s. v. a.) Stadtrat. — 6) *at large* insgesamt, in corpore, im Gegensatz zu *the corporation of the city*, eine durch einen bestimmten Census abgegrenzte Zahl von Bürgern, welche das aktive Wahlrecht für die Communalwahlen besaßen, während zur Wahl eines *burgess* (Vertreter in der *Assembly*) alle Bürger das Wahlrecht ausüben konnten.

tired with sitting there to hear the debates, in which, as clerk, I could take no part, and which were often so uninteresting, that I was induced to amuse myself with making magic squares or circles, or any thing to avoid weariness; and I conceived my becoming a member would enlarge my power of doing good. I would¹ not, however, insinuate, that my ambition was not flattered by all these promotions; it certainly was, for, considering my low beginning, they were great things to me; and they were still more pleasing, as being so many spontaneous testimonies of the public good opinion², and by me entirely unsolicited.

The office of justice of the peace I tried a little, by attending a few courts, to hear causes; but finding that more knowledge of the common law³ than I possessed was necessary to act in that station with credit, I gradually withdrew from it; excusing myself by being obliged to attend the higher duties of a legislator in the Assembly. My election to this trust was repeated every year for ten years, without my ever asking any elector for his vote, or signifying, either directly or indirectly, any desire of being chosen. On taking my seat in the House, my son⁴ was appointed their clerk.

The year following⁵, a treaty being to be held

1) *I would* ich möchte. — 2) *good opinion* Achtung. — 3) *the common law* das gemeine (ungeschriebene, Gewohnheits-) Recht; im Gegensatz zu *Statute law*, das geschriebene Recht. — 4) *my son*: William; vgl. Einleitung S. VIII. — 5) *the year following*; vgl. S. 92, Anm. 3.

with the Indians at Carlisle¹, the governor sent a message to the House, proposing that they should nominate some of their members, to be joined with some members of Council, as commissioners for that purpose. The House named the Speaker² and myself; and, being commissioned, we went to Carlisle, and met the Indians accordingly.

As those people are extremely apt to get drunk, and, when so³, are very quarrelsome and disorderly, we strictly forbade the selling any liquor to them; and when they complained of this restriction, we told them that, if they would continue sober during the treaty, we would give them plenty of rum when the business was over. They promised this, and they kept their promise, because they could get no rum, and the treaty was conducted very orderly, and concluded to mutual satisfaction. They then claimed and received the rum; this was in the afternoon; they were near one hundred men, women, and children, and were lodged in temporary cabins, built in the form of a square, just without the town. In the evening, hearing a great noise among them, the commissioners walked to see what was the matter. We found they had made a great bonfire in the middle of the square; they were all drunk, men and women, quarrelling and fighting. Their

1) Carlisle (spr. kår-lil') in Pennsylvanien. In den Kriegen mit den französischen Kolonisten hatten die Bewohner von Neu-England sich meistens den Beistand der benachbarten Indianer zu sichern gewußt. — 2) *the Speaker* der Präsident der Assembly; *of Council*; vgl. S. 102, Anm. 1. — 3) *when so* wenn sie es (*drunk*) sind; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 7.

dark-coloured bodies, half naked, seen only by the gloomy light of the bonfire, running after and beating one another with firebrands, accompanied by their horrid yellings, formed a scene the most resembling our ideas of hell that could well be imagined; there was no appeasing the tumult¹, and we retired to our lodging. At midnight a number of them came thundering at our door, demanding more rum, of which we took no notice.

The next day, sensible they had misbehaved in giving us that disturbance, they sent three of their old counsellors to make their apology. The orator acknowledged the fault, but laid it upon the rum; and then endeavoured to excuse the rum, by saying, "The Great Spirit, who made all things, made everything for some use, and whatever use he designed anything for, that use it should always be put to. Now, when he made rum, he said, '*Let this be for the Indians to get drunk with;*' and it must be so." And, indeed, if it be² the design of Providence to extirpate these savages in order to make room for the cultivators of the earth, it seems not³ impossible that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes⁴ who formerly inhabited the sea-coast. —

1) *There was no appeasing the tumult* der Lärm ließ sich nicht beschwichtigen. — 2) *if it be* falls es sein sollte. — 3) *it seems not impossible; not* gehört zu *impossible*. — 4) *all the tribes*: augenblicklich wohnen in den *United States* Indianer fast nur noch in Kalifornien und im sogenannten *Indian Territory*, an Zahl kaum eine Viertel Million stark.

In 1751, Dr. Thomas Bond, a particular friend of mine, conceived the idea of establishing a hospital in Philadelphia (a very beneficent design, which has been ascribed to me, but was originally and truly his) for the reception and cure of poor sick persons, whether inhabitants of the province or strangers. He was zealous and active in endeavouring to procure subscriptions for it; but, the proposal being a novelty in America, and at first not well understood, he met but with little success.

At length he came to me with the compliment, that he found there¹ was no such a thing as carrying a public-spirited² project through without my being concerned in it. "For," said he, "I am often asked by those to whom I propose³ subscribing, *Have you consulted Franklin on this business? And what does he think of it?* And when I tell them that I have not, supposing it rather out of your line⁴, they do not subscribe, but say, *they will consider it.*" I inquired into the nature and probable utility of this scheme, and, receiving from him a very satisfactory explanation, I not only subscribed to it myself, but engaged⁵ heartily in the design of procuring subscriptions from others. Previously, however, to the solicitation, I endeavoured to prepare the minds of the people, by writing on the subject in the newspapers, which⁶ was my usual custom

1) *There was no such a thing as carrying . . . through* es sei so etwas wie die Durchführung . . . nicht möglich; vgl. S. 110, Anm. 1. — 2) *public-spirited*; vgl. S. 105, Anm. 5. — 3) *I propose subscribing*; vgl. S. 78, Anm. 7. — 4) *out of your line* „es schlage nicht in Ihr Fach.“ — 5) *to engage* in sich beteiligen bei. — 6) *which*; vgl. S. 36, Anm. 2.

in such cases, but which Dr. Bond had omitted. The subscriptions accordingly soon exceeded the requisite sum, which enabled us to carry the design into execution. A convenient and handsome building was soon erected; the institution has by constant experience been found useful, and flourishes to this day. —

Our city¹, though laid out with a beautiful regularity, the streets large, straight, and crossing each other at right angles, had the disgrace of suffering those streets to remain long unpaved, and in wet weather the wheels of heavy carriages ploughed them into a quagmire, so that it was difficult to cross them; and in dry weather the dust was offensive. Therefore after some time I drew a bill² for paving the city, and brought it into the Assembly. It was just before I went to England, in 1757, and did not pass³ till I was gone, and then with an additional provision⁴ for lighting as well as paving the streets, which was a great improvement. It was by a private person, the late⁵ Mr. John Clifton, giving a sample of the utility of lamps, by placing one at his door, that the people were first impressed with the idea of lighting all the city. The honour of this public benefit has also been ascribed to me, but it belongs truly to that gentleman. I have only some merit

1) *Our city*: Philadelphia. — 2) *to draw a bill* einen Gesetzentwurf abfassen. — 3) *to pass* durchgehen. — 4) *an additional provision* eine weitere Vorkehrung. — 5) *the late* der verstorbene.

to claim respecting the form of our lamps, as differing from the globe lamps, we were at first supplied with from London. They were found inconvenient in these respects; they admitted no air below; the smoke therefore did not readily go out above, but circulated in the globe, lodged on its inside, and soon obstructed the light they were intended to afford; giving besides the daily trouble of wiping them clean; and an accidental stroke on one of them would demolish it, and render it totally useless. I therefore suggested the¹ composing them of four flat panes, with a long funnel above to draw up the smoke; and crevices admitting the air below to facilitate the ascent of the smoke; by this means they were kept clean, and did not grow dark² in a few hours, as the London lamps do, but continued bright till morning; and an accidental stroke would generally break but a single pane, easily repaired.

Some may think these trifling matters not worth³ minding or relating; but, when they consider that, though dust blown into the eyes of a single person, or into a single shop in a windy day, is but of small importance, yet the great number of the instances⁴ in a populous city, and its frequent repetition, gives it weight and consequence, perhaps they will not censure very severely those who bestow some attention to affairs of this seemingly low nature. Human felicity is produced

1) *I suggested the composing them*; vgl. S. 43, Anm. 5.
 — 2) *to grow dark* dunkel werden. — 3) *worth minding* erwähnenswert. — 4) *the instances* derartige Vorgänge.

not so much by great pieces of good fortune that seldom happen, as by little advantages that occur every day. With these sentiments I have hazarded the few preceding pages, hoping they may afford hints, which some time or other¹ may be useful to some of our towns in America.

Having been some time employed by the postmaster-general of America, as his comptroller in regulating² several offices, I was, upon his death, in 1753, appointed, jointly with Mr. William Hunter, to succeed him, by a commission from the postmaster-general in England. The American office had hitherto never paid any thing to that of Britain. We were to have six hundred pounds a year between us³, if we could make that sum out of the profits of the office. To do this, a variety of improvements was necessary; some of these were inevitably at first expensive; so that in the first four years the office became above nine hundred pounds in debt to us. But it soon after began to repay us; and before I was displaced by a freak of the ministers⁴, of which I shall speak hereafter⁵, we had brought it to yield

1) *Some time or other* das eine oder andere Mal. —
 2) *in regulating several offices* bei Beaufsichtigung mehrerer Postämter. — 3) *between us* zusammen, gemeinsam. — 4) *the ministers* die englischen Minister; der Vorgang (*that imprudent transation* S. 115) fand statt im Januar 1774, kurz vor Ausbruch des amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieges; doch wurde Franklin 1776 vom Kongress wieder zum *postmaster-general* ernannt, er bekleidete dieses Amt aber nur wenige Monate, da er gegen Ende desselben Jahres als Gesandter nach Paris ging. — 5) *of which I shall speak hereafter*; vgl. S. 60, Anm. 5.

three times as much clear revenue to the crown as the post-office of Ireland. Since that imprudent transaction, they have received from it — not one farthing!

The business of the post-office occasioned my taking a journey this year to New England, where the College of Cambridge¹, of their own motion, presented me with the degree of Master of Arts². Yale College³ in Connecticut had before made me a similar compliment. Thus, without studying in any College, I came to partake of their honours. They were conferred in consideration of my improvements and discoveries in the electric branch of natural philosophy⁴.

XII.

IN 1754, war⁵ with France being again apprehended, a congress of commissioners from the different colonies was by an order of the Lords of Trade⁶ to be assembled at Albany⁷, there to

1) *College of Cambridge* (kám'-brîdj), die Universität zu Cambridge in Massachusetts, 1638 gegründet und nach dem Prediger Harvard benannt, welcher der Anstalt ein namhaftes Kapital vermachte; *their*; vgl. S. 43, Anm. 3. — 2) *Master of Arts*: Doctor philosophiae. — Einige Jahre später wurde er auch von den Universitäten zu Oxford, Edinburgh und St. Andrews (in Schottland) zum Ehrendoktor promoviert. — 3) *Yale College* in Newhaven, 1701 gegründet. — 4) *natural philosophy*; vgl. S. 70, Anm. 1. — 5) Der Krieg begann thatsächlich in demselben Jahre, wenn auch die formelle Kriegserklärung erst 1756 erfolgte. — 6) *the Lords of Trade*; diese (damalige) englische Behörde entspricht unserem Handelsministerium und leitete damals auch die kolonialen Angelegenheiten. — 7) Albany am Hudson im Staate New York.

confer with the chiefs¹ of the Six Nations, concerning the means of defending both their country and ours. Governor Hamilton, having received this order, acquainted the House with it, requesting they would² furnish proper presents for the Indians, to be given on this occasion; and naming the Speaker and myself to join Mr. John Penn³ and Mr. Peters, as commissioners to act for Pennsylvania. The House approved the nomination, and provided the goods for the presents, though they did not much like treating out of the province; and we met the other commissioners at Albany about the middle of June.

In our way thither, I projected and drew up a Plan for the union of all the colonies under one government, so far as might be necessary for defence, and other important general purposes. As we passed through New York, I had there shown my project to Mr. James Alexander and Mr. Kennedy, two gentlemen of great knowledge in public affairs; and, being fortified by their approbation, I ventured to lay it before the congress. It then appeared that several of the commissioners had formed plans of the same kind. A previous question⁴ was first taken, whether a union should be established, which passed in the affirmative

1) *The chiefs* die Häuptlinge. — *the Six Nations*: die Irokesen und die mit ihnen verbündeten fünf Stämme, welche von jeher erbitterte Feinde der Franzosen gewesen waren; sie wohnten westlich vom Hudson. — 2) *they would furnish*; vgl. S. 25, Anm. 7. — 3) John Penn, ein Verwandter der Proprietaries. — 4) *a previous question* eine Vorfrage; *was taken* wurde aufgeworfen.

unanimously. A committee was then appointed, one member from each colony, to consider the several plans, and report¹. Mine happened to be preferred, and, with a few amendments, was accordingly reported¹.

By this plan the general government was to be administered by a President-general, appointed and supported² by the crown; and a grand council was to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies, met³ in their respective assemblies. The debates upon it in congress⁴ went on daily, hand in hand with the Indian business. Many objections and difficulties were started; but at length they were all overcome, and the plan was unanimously agreed to, and copies ordered to be transmitted to the Board of Trade⁵ and to the Assemblies of the several provinces. Its fate was singular; the Assemblies did not adopt it, as they all thought there was too much *prerogative*⁶ in it; and in England it was judged to have too much of the *democratic*.

These different and contrary reasons of dislike to my plan make me suspect that it was really the true medium; and I am still of opinion, it would have been happy for both sides, if it had been adopted. The colonies so united would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves;

1) *To report* über etwas Bericht erstatten. — 2) *supported* besoldet. — 3) *met* versammelt; vgl. S. 99, Anm. 1. — 4) *in congress* ohne Artikel; vgl. S. 102, Anm. 1. — 5) *the Board of Trade* das Handelsamt in London, s. v. a. *the Lords of Trade*. — 6) *prerogative* Vorrechte, nämlich des Königs.

there would then have been no need of troops from England; of course the subsequent pretext for taxing America, and the bloody contest¹ it occasioned, would have been avoided. But such mistakes are not new; history is full of the errors of states and princes.

“Look round the habitable world, how few
Know their own good, or, knowing it, pursue!”

The British government, not choosing to permit the union of the colonies as proposed² at Albany, and to trust that union with their defence, lest³ they should thereby grow too military, and feel their own strength, sent over⁴ General Braddock with two regiments of regular English troops for that purpose. He landed at Alexandria in Virginia, and thence marched to Fredericktown in Maryland, where he halted for carriages. Our Assembly apprehending, from some information, that he had received violent prejudices against them⁵, as averse⁶ to the service, wished me to wait upon him, not⁷ as from them, but as postmaster-general, under the guise of proposing to settle with him the mode of conducting with most celerity and certainty the despatches between him and the governors of the several provinces, with whom he must⁸ necessarily

1) *The bloody contest* der Unabhängigkeitskrieg (1775 bis 1783). — 2) *as proposed*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 7. — 3) *lest* mit folgendem *should* (auch nach einem Haupttempus) damit nicht. — 4) *sent over*: im Jahre 1755. — 5) *against them*; vgl. S. 43, Anm. 3. — 6) *as averse* als wären sie abgeneigt. — *the service* der Kriegsdienst. — 7) *not as from them* nicht als ob ich von ihnen (in ihrem Auftrage) käme. — 8) *he must have*; vgl. S. 37, Anm. 1.

have continual correspondence, and of which they proposed to pay the expense. My son accompanied me on this journey.

We found the General at Frederictown, waiting impatiently for the return of those he had sent through the back parts¹ of Maryland and Virginia to collect wagons. I stayed with him several days, dined with him daily, and had full opportunities of removing his prejudices, by the information² of what the Assembly had before his arrival actually done, and were³ still willing to do, to facilitate his operations. When I was about to depart, the returns⁴ of wagons to be obtained were brought in, by which it appeared that they amounted only to twenty-five, and not all of those were in serviceable condition. The General and all the officers were surprised, declared the expedition was then at an end, being impossible, and exclaimed against the ministers⁵ for ignorantly sending them into a country destitute of the means of conveying their stores, baggage, &c., not⁶ less than one hundred and fifty wagons being necessary.

I happened to say⁷, I thought it was a pity they had not been landed in Pennsylvania, as in that country almost every farmer had his wagon. The General eagerly laid hold of my words, and

1) *The back parts* das Hinterland; *Frederictown* liegt in Maryland. — 2) *information* Mitteilung. — 3) *were*; vgl. S. 43, Anm. 3. — 4) *the returns* das Verzeichnis. — 5) *the ministers* die englischen Minister. — 6) *not less*; vor Komparativen steht in der Regel *no*, folgt aber noch *than*, so steht gewöhnlich *not*. — 7) *I happened to say*; vgl. S. 88, Anm. 1.

said, "Then you, Sir, who are a man of interest¹ there, can probably procure them for us; and I beg you will² undertake it." I asked what terms were to be offered³ the owners of the wagons; and I was desired⁴ to put on paper the terms that appeared to me necessary. This I did, and they were agreed to, and a commission and instructions accordingly prepared immediately.

I received of the General about eight hundred pounds, to be disbursed in advance money⁵ to the wagon owners; but, that sum being insufficient, I advanced upwards of two hundred pounds more; and in two weeks the one hundred and fifty wagons, with two hundred and fifty-nine carrying-horses, were on their march for the camp. Payment was promised according to the valuation, in case any wagons or horses should be lost. The owners, however, alleging they did not know General Braddock, or what dependence might be had on his promise, insisted on my bond for the performance; which I accordingly gave them.

While I was at the camp⁶, supping one evening

1) *A man of interest* ein Mann von Einfluss. — 2) *I beg you will*; vgl. S. 25, Anm. 7. — 3) *the owners*; in der heutigen Sprache müßte es korrekter heißen *to the owners*; denn beim Passiv können Substantive nicht im verkürzten Dativ stehen. — 4) *I was desired* man wünschte von mir. — 5) *in advance money* als Vorschuss. — 6) *in the camp*; hier im Lager Braddocks „traf Franklin zum ersten Male in seinem Leben mit Washington zusammen. Die Washingtons stammten aus derselben Gemeinde Exton in England, wie die Franklins (vgl. S. 4) und waren in demselben Jahre 1655 nach Amerika gekommen, in welchem Franklins Vater geboren wurde“. Washington, damals 23 Jahr alt, nahm als Oberst und Adjutant Braddocks am Kriege teil.

with the officers of Colonel Dunbar's¹ regiment, he represented to me his concern for the subalterns², who, he said, were generally not in affluence, and could³ ill afford in this dear country to lay in the stores that might be necessary in so long a march through a wilderness where nothing was to be purchased. I commiserated their case, and resolved to endeavour procuring them some relief. I said nothing, however, to him of my intention, but wrote the next morning to the Committee⁴ of the Assembly, who had the disposition of some public money, warmly recommending the case of these officers to their consideration, and proposing that a present should be sent them of necessaries and refreshments. My son⁵, who had some experience of a camp life, and of its wants, drew up a list for me, which I enclosed in my letter. The committee approved, and used such diligence, that, conducted by my son, the stores arrived at the camp as soon as the wagons. They were placed on as many horses, being intended, with the horses, as a present for the officers. They were very thankfully received, and the kindness acknowledged by letters to me, from the colonels of both⁶ regiments, in the most grateful terms. The General, too, was highly satisfied with my conduct in procuring him the wagons, and readily paid my account of disbursements; thanking

1) *Dunbar* ist auf der zweiten Silbe betont. — 2) *the subalterns* die Subalternoffiziere. — 3) *I can afford* meine Mittel erlauben mir ... *to lay in* beschaffen. — 4) *the Committee* der Ausschufs. — 5) William Fr. (vgl. Einl. S. VIII) 1730 geboren, hatte 1746 an der Expedition gegen Canada teilgenommen. — 6) Braddocks Armee bestand

me repeatedly, and requesting my further assistance in sending provisions after him¹. I undertook this also, and was busily employed in it till we heard of his defeat²; advancing for the service, of my own money, upwards of one thousand pounds sterling; of which I sent him an account. It came to his hands, luckily for me, a few days before the battle, and he returned me immediately an order on the paymaster for the round sum of one thousand pounds, leaving the remainder to the next account. I consider this payment as good luck, having never been able to obtain that remainder; of which more hereafter.

This General was, I think, a brave man, and might probably have made a figure as a good officer in some European war. But he had too much selfconfidence, too high an opinion of the validity of regular troops, and too mean a one of both Americans and Indians. George Croghan, our Indian interpreter, joined him on his march with one hundred of those people, who might have been of great use to his army as guides and scouts, if he had treated them kindly; but he slighted and neglected them, and they gradually left him.

In conversation with him one day, he was giving me some account of his intended progress. "After taking Fort Duquesne³," said he, "I am to proceed to Niagara; and, having taken that, to Frontenac⁴,

aus zwei Regimentern von je 500 Mann; dazu kamen ca. 1000 Mann Kolonialtruppen.

1) *After him* ihm nach. — 2) *of his defeat*; vgl. S. 124 f. — 3) Fort Duquesne am Ohio, französische Festung; später, nach der Einnahme durch Washington 1758, Pittsburg genannt. — 4) Niagara (ni-äg'-gə-rə), ein Fort

if the season will allow time, and I suppose it will; for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four days; and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara." Having before revolved in my mind the long line his army must¹ make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut for them through the woods and bushes, and also what I had read of a former defeat of fifteen hundred French, who invaded the Illinois² country, I had conceived some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign. But I ventured only to say, "To be sure, Sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne, with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, the fort, though completely fortified, and assisted with a very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of³ obstruction to your march, is from the ambuscades of the Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, near four miles⁴ long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise in its flanks, and to be cut like a thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other."

He smiled at my ignorance, and replied, "These

am Ontario-See, 1674 von den Franzosen angelegt; Frontenac, ein Fort am Ausfluß des St. Lorenzstromes aus diesem See (jetzt Kingston) 1679 angelegt.

1) *Must make*; vgl. S. 37, Anm. 1. — 2) Das *s* von *Illinois* ist stumm. — 3) *I apprehend of obstruction to* = *of which I apprehend obstruction to*. — 4) *miles* englische Meilen à 1,6 Kilometer.

savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia; but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, Sir, it is impossible they should make any impression." I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession, and said no more. The enemy, however¹, did not take the advantage of his army, which I apprehended its long line of march exposed it to, but let it advance without interruption till within nine miles of the place²; and then, when³ more in a body, (for it had just passed a river, where the front had halted till all were come over,) and in a more open part of the woods than any it had passed, attacked its advanced guard by a heavy fire from behind trees and bushes; which was the first intelligence the general had of an enemy's being near him. This guard being disordered, the general hurried the troops up to their assistance, which was done in great confusion through wagons, baggage, and cattle; and presently the fire came upon their flank. The officers being on horseback were more easily distinguished, picked out as marks, and fell very fast; and the soldiers were crowded together in a huddle, having or hearing no orders, and standing to be shot at till two-thirds of them were killed; and then, being seized with a panic, the remainder fled with precipitation⁴.

1) *However* übrigens. — 2) *the place*: Fort Duquesne. — 3) *when in a body*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 7. — 4) Franklin erwähnt nicht, daß auf Seiten der Indianer auch Franzosen aus Fort Duquesne kämpften. Nach Washingtons Angabe waren die

The wagoners took each a horse out of his team and scampered; their example was immediately followed by others; so that all the wagons, provisions, artillery, and stores were left to the enemy. The General, being wounded, was brought off with difficulty; his secretary was killed by his side, and out of eighty-six officers, sixty-three were killed or wounded, and seven hundred and fourteen men killed of eleven hundred. These eleven hundred had been picked men from the whole army; the rest had been left behind with Colonel Dunbar, who was to follow with the heavier part of the stores, provisions, and baggage. The flyers¹, not being pursued, arrived at Dunbar's camp, and the panic they brought with them instantly seized him and all his people. And, though he had now above one thousand men, and the enemy who had beaten Braddock did not at most exceed four hundred Indians and French together, instead of proceeding, and endeavouring to recover some of the lost honour, he ordered all the stores, ammunition, &c., to be destroyed, that he might have more horses to assist his flight towards the settlements, and less lumber to remove. He was there met² with requests from the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, that he would³ post his troops

Engländer 1300, die Feinde (*'a handful of men'*) nur 300 Mann stark.

1) *The flyers*; der Rückzug wurde von Washington mit seinen Milizen gedeckt. Wash. erzählt von sich selbst: *I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me.* — 2) *he was met with* es trafen ihn. — 3) *that he would post*; vgl. S. 25, Anm. 7.

on the frontiers, so as to afford some protection to the inhabitants; but he continued his hasty march through all the country, not thinking himself safe till he arrived at Philadelphia, where the inhabitants could protect him. This whole transaction gave us Americans the first suspicion, that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regular troops had not been well founded.

In their first march, too, from their landing till they got beyond the settlements, they had plundered and stripped the inhabitants, totally ruining some poor families, besides insulting, abusing, and confining the people, if they remonstrated. This was enough to put us out of conceit¹ of such defenders, if we had really wanted any. How different was the conduct of our French friends in 1781², who, during a march through the most inhabited part of our country, from Rhode Island to Virginia, near seven hundred miles, occasioned not the smallest complaint for the loss of a pig, a chicken, or even an apple.

Captain Orme, who was one of the General's aides-de-camp, and, being grievously wounded, was brought off with him, and continued with him to his³ death, which happened in a few days, told me that he was totally silent all the first day, and at night only said, "Who would have thought it?" That he was silent again the following day, saying only at last, "We shall better know how

1) *To put us out of conceit of* (oder *with*) einem alle Lust benehmen an . . . — 2) *in 1781*, als die Franzosen den Amerikanern in ihrem Unabhängigkeitskriege zu Hülfe kamen. — 3) *his* und *he* (im Folgenden) beziehen sich auf *the General*.

to deal with them another time;" and died in a few minutes after.

The secretary's papers, with all the General's orders, instructions, and correspondence, falling into the enemy's hands, they¹ selected and translated into French a number of the articles, which they printed, to prove the hostile intentions of the British court before the declaration of war². Among these I saw some letters of the General to the ministry, speaking highly of the great service I had rendered the army, and recommending me to their notice. But the expedition having been unfortunate, my service, it seems, was not thought of much value, for those recommendations were never of any use to me.

As to rewards from himself³, I asked only one, which was, that he would give orders to his officers not to enlist any more of our bought servants⁴, and that he would discharge such as had been already enlisted. This he readily granted, and several were accordingly returned to their masters, on my application. Dunbar, when the command devolved on him, was not so generous. He being⁵ at Philadelphia, on his retreat, or rather flight, I applied to him for the discharge of the servants of three poor farmers, that he had enlisted, reminding him of the late general's orders on that head⁶. He promised me that, if the masters would

1) *They*: die Franzosen. — 2) *before the declaration of war*; vgl. S. 115, Anm. 5. — 3) *himself*: Braddock. — 4) *bought servants* s. v. a. *indentured servants*; vgl. S. 27. — 5) *he being*; absoluter Nominativ. — 6) *On that head* in jener Hinsicht.

come to him at Trenton¹, where he should be in a few days on his march to New York, he would there deliver their men to them. They accordingly were² at the expense and trouble of going to Trenton, and there he refused to perform his promise, to their great loss and disappointment.

As soon as the loss of the wagons and horses was generally known, all the owners came upon me for the valuation which I had given. bond to pay. Their demands gave me a great deal of trouble. I acquainted them that the money was ready in the paymaster's hands, but the order for paying it must³ first be obtained from General Shirley, and that I had applied for it; but he being at a distance, an answer could not soon be received, and they must³ have patience. All this, however, was not sufficient to satisfy them, and some began to sue me. General Shirley at length relieved me from this terrible situation, by appointing commissioners to examine the claims, and ordering payment. They amounted to near twenty thousand pounds, which to pay would have ruined me.

Before we had the news of this defeat, the two doctors Bond⁴ came to me with a subscription paper for raising money to defray the expense of a grand firework, which it was intended to exhibit at a rejoicing on receiving the news of our taking

1) Trenton am Delaware in New Jersey. — 2) *they were at the expense* sie machten sich die Ausgabe. — 3) *they must*; vgl. S. 37, Anm. 1, Shirley war Oberbefehlshaber der englischen Truppen in Amerika. — 4) *Bond*; vgl. S. 111.

Fort Duquesne. I looked grave¹, and said it would, I thought, be time enough to prepare the rejoicing when we knew we should have occasion to rejoice. They seemed surprised that I did not immediately comply with their proposal. "Why the d—l²!" said one of them, "you surely don't suppose that the fort will not be taken?" "I don't know that it will not be taken; but I know that the events of war are subject to great uncertainty." I gave them the reasons of my doubting; the subscription was dropped, and the projectors thereby missed the mortification they would have undergone, if the firework had been prepared. Dr. Bond, on some other occasion afterwards, said that he did not like Franklin's forebodings.

XIII.

I had drawn³ a bill for establishing and disciplining a voluntary militia; which I carried through the House without much difficulty, as care was taken in it to leave the Quakers at liberty. To promote the association necessary to form the militia, I wrote a Dialogue stating and answering⁴

1) *I looked grave* ich machte ein ernstes Gesicht. —
 2) *D—l* = *devil*. — 3) *to draw* entwerfen; vgl. S. 112, Anm. 2.
 — *to carry through the House* im Hause (der *Assembly*)
 durchbringen. — 4) *to answer* beantworten.

all the objections I could think of to such a militia; which was printed, and had, as I thought, great effect.

While the several companies in the city and country were forming¹, and learning their exercise, the Governor prevailed with me to take charge of our north-western frontier, which was infested by the enemy², and provide for the defence of the inhabitants by raising troops and building a line of forts. I undertook this military business, though I did not conceive myself well qualified for it. He gave me a commission³ with full powers, and a parcel of blank commissions for officers, to be given to whom I thought fit. I had but little difficulty in raising men, having soon five hundred and sixty under my command. My son, who had in the preceding war been an officer in the army raised against Canada⁴, was my aide-de-camp, and of great use to me. The Indians had burned Gnadenhutten, a village settled by the Moravians⁵, and massacred the inhabitants; but the place was thought a good situation for one of the forts.

1) *Were forming* in der Bildung begriffen waren. — 2) *the enemy* Franzosen und Indianer. — 3) *commission* Bestallung; *blank* unausgefüllt. — 4) *Canada* gehörte damals noch (bis 1763) den Franzosen. — *the preceding war*; vgl. S. 121, Anm. 5. — 5) *the Moravians*: die mährischen Brüder oder Herrnhuter (Deutsche) hatten sich 1735 in Georgia niedergelassen, zogen aber bald nach Pennsylvania; ein Teil siedelte sich auch im Staate New York an; auch Graf Zinzendorf unternahm 1738 und 1741 eine Reise nach Amerika, um die „Brüder“ zu inspizieren. Gnadenhutten liegt im Staate Ohio; Bethlehem, an einem Nebenfluß des Delaware in Pennsylvania gelegen, bildet noch jetzt den Hauptort der Herrnhuter in den Vereinigten Staaten.

In order to march thither, I assembled the companies at Bethlehem, the chief establishment of these people. I was surprised to find it in so good a posture of defence; the destruction of Gnadenhutten had made them apprehend danger. The principal buildings were defended by a stockade; they had purchased a quantity of arms and ammunition from New York, and had even placed quantities of small paving stones between the windows of their high stone houses, for¹ their women to throw them down upon the heads of any Indians that should attempt to force² into them. The armed brethren, too, kept watch, and relieved each other on guard, as methodically as in any garrison town.

It was the beginning of January³ when we set out upon this business of building forts. I sent one detachment towards the Minisink⁴, with instructions to erect one for the security of that upper part of the country; and another to the lower part, with similar instructions; and I concluded to go myself with the rest of my force to Gnadenhutten, where a fort was thought more immediately necessary. The Moravians procured me five wagons for our tools, stores, and baggage.

Just before we had left Bethlehem, eleven farmers, who had been driven from their plantations by

1) *For their women to throw them* damit ihre Frauen sie werfen könnten. — *women* Frauen, *wives* Ehefrauen. — 2) *to force*, erg. *their way into them*. — *brethren* Brüder einer geistlichen Gemeinschaft, *brothers* leibliche Brüder. — 3) *January* 1756. — 4) *the Minisink*, Nebenfluß des Susquehannah.

the Indians, came to me requesting a supply of fire-arms, that they might go back and bring off their cattle. I gave them each a gun with suitable ammunition. We had not¹ marched many miles, before it began to rain, and it continued raining all day; there were no habitations on the road to shelter us, till we arrived near night at the house of a German², where, and in his barn, we were all huddled together, as wet as water could make us. It was well³ we were not attacked in our march, for our arms were of the most ordinary sort, and our men could not keep the locks of their guns dry. The Indians are dexterous in contrivances for that purpose, which we had not. They met that day the eleven poor farmers above mentioned⁴, and killed ten of them. The one that escaped informed us that his and his companions' guns would not go off, the priming being wet with the rain.

The next day being fair, we continued our march, and arrived at the desolated Gnadenhutten⁵. There was a mill near, round which were left several pine boards, with which we soon hutted ourselves; an operation the more necessary at that inclement season, as we had no tents. Our

1) *Not-before*; vgl. S. 69, Anm. 2. — 2) *a German* hier s. v. a. *Moravian*. — 3) *it was well we were not attacked*; nach unpersönlichen Ausdrücken wird *that* an der Spitze eines Substantivsatzes selten ausgelassen; vgl. S. 84, Anm. 2. Wegen *it was well* vgl. S. 67, Anm. 6. — 4) *above mentioned*; vgl. S. 93, Anm. 5. — 5) *the desolated Gnadenhutten*; Eigennamen erhalten den Artikel, wenn ein attributives Adjektiv vorangeht.

first work was to bury more effectually the dead we found there, who had been half interred by the country people.

The next morning our fort was planned and marked out, the circumference measuring four hundred and fifty-five feet, which would require as many palisades to be made, one with another¹, of a foot diameter each. Our axes, of which we had seventy, were immediately set to work to cut down trees; and, our men being dexterous in the use of them, great despatch was made. Seeing the trees fall so fast, I had the curiosity to look at my watch when two men began to cut at a pine; in six minutes they had it upon the ground, and I found it of fourteen inches diameter. Each pine made three palisades of eighteen feet long, pointed at one end. While these² were preparing, our other men dug a trench all round, of³ three feet deep, in which the palisades were to be planted. When they were set up, our carpenters built a platform of boards all round within, about six feet high, for⁴ the men to stand on when⁵ to fire through the loopholes. We had one swivel gun⁶, which we mounted on one of the angles, and fired it as soon as⁵ fixed, to let the Indians know, if

1) *One with another* im Durchschnitt. — 2) *these: the palisades. Were preparing*; der Sinn ist passivisch; vgl. S. 130, Anm. 1. — 3) *of three feet deep* ist eine nicht ganz seltene Vermengung zweier Konstruktionen: *of three feet* und *three feet deep*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 3. — 4) *for the men to stand*; vgl. S. 131, Anm. 1. — 5) *when to fire* s. v. a. *when they were to fire*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 7; ebenso *as soon as (they were) fixed*. — 6) *swivel gun* Drehkanone.

any were within hearing, that we had such pieces; and thus our fort, if that name may be given to so miserable a stockade, was finished in a week, though it rained so hard every other day, that the men could not work.

This gave me occasion to observe that, when men are employed, they are best contented; for on the days they worked they were good-natured and cheerful, and, with the consciousness of having done a good day's work, they spent the evening jollily; but on our idle days they were mutinous and quarrelsome, finding fault with the pork, the bread, &c., and were continually in bad humour; which put¹ me in mind of a sea captain, whose rule it was to keep his men constantly at work; and when his mate once told him that they had done everything, and there was nothing further to employ them about: "Oh," said he, "make them scour² the anchor."

This kind of fort, however contemptible, is a sufficient defence against Indians, who have no cannon. Finding ourselves now posted securely, and having a place to retreat to on occasion, we ventured out in parties to scour² the adjacent country. We met with no Indians, but we found the places on the neighbouring hills, where they had lain to watch our proceedings. There was an art in their contrivance of those places that seems worth mentioning. It being winter, a fire was necessary for them; but a common fire on the

1) *To put one in mind of* jemand erinnern an. — 2) *to scour* scheuern; einige Zeilen weiter: durchstreifen.

surface of the ground would by its light have discovered their position at a distance. They had, therefore, dug holes in the ground about three feet diameter, and somewhat deeper; we found where they had with their hatchets cut off the charcoal from the sides of burnt logs lying in the woods. With these coals they had made small fires in the bottom of the holes, and we observed among the weeds and grass the prints of their bodies, made by their lying all round with their legs hanging down in the holes to keep their feet warm; which with¹ them is an essential point. This kind of fire so managed could not discover them either by its light, flame, sparks, or even smoke; it appeared that the number was not great, and it seems they saw we were too many to be attacked by them with prospect of advantage.

We had for our chaplain a zealous minister², Mr. Beatty, who complained to me that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When they enlisted they were promised³, besides pay and provisions, a gill of rum a day, which was punctually served out to them, half in the morning, and the other half in the evening; and I observed they were punctual in attending to receive it; upon which⁴ I said to Mr. Beatty, "It is perhaps below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum; but if you were only to

1) *With*; vgl. S. 5, Anm. 1. — 2) *minister* Geistlicher. — 3) *they were promised a gill* (djíl) gebräuchlicher als *a gill was promised them*. — *Gill* = $\frac{1}{4}$ pint = $\frac{1}{8}$ Liter. — *a day* vgl. S. 71, Anm. 3. — 4) *upon which*; vgl. S. 36, Anm. 3.

distribute it out after prayers, you would have them all about you." He liked the thought¹, undertook the task, and, with the help of a few hands to measure out the liquor, executed it to satisfaction and never were prayers more generally and more punctually attended. So that I think this method preferable to the punishment inflicted by some military laws for non-attendance on divine service.

I had hardly finished this business and got my fort well stored with provisions, when I received a letter from the Governor, acquainting me that he had called the Assembly, and wished my attendance there, if the posture of affairs on the frontiers was such that my remaining there was no longer necessary. My friends, too, of the Assembly pressing me by their letters to be, if possible, at the meeting, and my three intended forts being now completed, and the inhabitants contented to remain on their farms under that protection, I resolved to return; the more willingly, as a New England officer, Colonel Clapham, experienced in Indian² war, being on a visit to our establishment, consented to accept the command. I gave him a commission³, and introduced him to the garrison as an officer who, from his skill in military affairs, was much more fit to command them than myself, and, giving them a little exhortation, took my leave. I was escorted as far as⁴ Bethlehem, where I rested a few days to recover from the fatigue I

1) *He liked the thought* der Gedanke gefiel ihm; *hands* Arbeitskräfte. — 2) *Indian* indianisch. — 3) *commission*; vgl. S. 130, Anm. 3. — 4) *as far as* bis; vgl. S. 30, Anm. 3.

had undergone. The first night, lying in a good bed, I could hardly sleep, it was so different from my hard lodging on the floor of a hut at Gnadenhutten, with only a blanket or two.

Being returned¹ to Philadelphia, I found the Association² went on with great success. The inhabitants that were not Quakers, having pretty generally come into it, formed themselves into companies, and chose their captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, according to the new law. Dr. Bond³ visited me, and gave me an account of the pains he had taken to spread a general good liking to the law, and ascribed much to those endeavours. I had the vanity to ascribe all to my *Dialogue*⁴; however, not knowing but that⁵ he might be in the right, I let him enjoy his opinion; which I take to be generally the best way in such cases. The officers, meeting, chose me to be colonel of the regiment, which I this time⁶ accepted. I forget⁷ how many companies we had, but we paraded about twelve hundred well-looking men, with a company of artillery, who had been furnished with six brass field-pieces, which they had become so expert in the use of, as to fire twelve⁸ times in a minute. The first time I reviewed my regiment they accom-

1) *Being returned*; vgl. S. 11, Anm. 5. — 2) *the Association* der Milizverein; vgl. S. 129. — 3) Dr. Bond; vgl. S. 128, Anm. 4. — 4) *my Dialogue*; vgl. S. 129. — 5) *not knowing but that* . . . nach vorhergehender Verneinung entspricht *but* (pleonastisch *but that*) dem deutschen ob nicht. — 6) *this time*; vgl. oben S. 99: *I declined that station*. — 7) *I forget*; vgl. S. 62, Anm. 5. — 8) *twelve times* d. h. jede der 6 *field-pieces* zweimal.

panied me to my house, and would salute¹ me with some rounds fired before my door, which shook down and broke several glasses of my electrical apparatus. And my new honour proved not much less brittle; for all our commissions were soon after broken, by a repeal of the law in England². —

Notwithstanding the continual wrangle³ between the Governor and the House, in which I as a member had a large share, there still subsisted a civil intercourse between that gentleman and myself, and we never had any personal difference. I have sometimes since thought that his little or no resentment against me might be the effect of professional habit, and that, being bred a lawyer, he might consider us both as merely advocates for contending clients in a suit; he for the Proprietaries, and I for the Assembly. He would⁴ therefore sometimes call in a friendly way to advise with me on difficult points; and sometimes, though not often, take my advice.

We acted in concert to supply Braddock's army

1) *Would salute* ist hier so viel als *saluted* (sie wollten mich gern begrüßen und begrüßten mich wirklich); *round Salve* — 2) *by a repeal*: die von der Assembly angenommenen Gesetze bedurften noch der Genehmigung der Krone, teilweise auch der *Proprietaries*. — 3) *a continual wrangle*: der Gouverneur, von den *Proprietaries* ernannt, hatte nach den *instructions* derselben zu handeln; vgl. S. 50, Anm. 1. Nun besaßen die letzteren noch einen großen Teil des liegenden Grundes, für den sie auch keine Grundsteuer entrichten wollten, während die Assembly diese Steuerfreiheit nicht mehr anerkannte, daher *a continual wrangle*. — 4) *he would call*; vgl. S. 84, Anm. 1. — *to advise with* sich beraten mit.

with provisions; and, when the shocking news arrived of his defeat, the Governor sent in haste for me, to consult with him on measures for preventing the desertion of the back counties¹. And, after my return from the frontier, he would have had² me undertake the conduct of an expedition with provincial troops, for the reduction of Fort Duquesne, Dunbar and his men being otherwise employed; and he proposed to commission³ me as general. I had not so good an opinion of my military abilities as he professed to have, and I believe his professions must have exceeded his real sentiments; but probably he might think that my popularity would facilitate the business with the men, and influence in the Assembly the grant of money to pay for it. Finding me not so forward to engage as he expected, the project was dropped; and he soon after left the government, being superseded by Captain Denny.

XIV.

Before I proceed in relating the part I had in public affairs under this new Governor's administration, it may not be amiss to give here some account of the rise and progress of my philosophical reputation⁴.

1) *The back counties*; vgl. S. 119, Anm. 1; *the desertion* das Aufgeben, der Verlust. — 2) *he would have had me undertake* er hätte es gern gesehen, wenn ich unternommen hätte; vgl. S. 28, Anm. 2. — 3) *to commission* ein Patent geben. — 4) *my philosophical reputation* mein Ruf als Naturforscher; vgl. S. 97, Anm. 2.

In 1746, being in Boston, I met there with a Dr. Spence, who was¹ lately arrived from Scotland, and showed me some electric experiments. They were imperfectly performed, as he was not very expert; but, being on a subject quite new to me, they equally surprised and pleased me. Soon after my return to Philadelphia, our library company received from Mr. Peter Collinson, Fellow of the Royal² Society of London, a present of a glass tube, with some account of the use of it in making such experiments. I eagerly seized the opportunity of repeating what I had seen at Boston³; and, by much practice, acquired great readiness in performing those also, which we had an account of from England, adding a number of new ones. I say much practice, for my house was continually full, for some time, with persons who came to see these new wonders.

To divide a little this incumbrance among my friends, I caused a number of similar tubes to be blown in our glass-house, with which they furnished themselves, so that we had at length several performers.

Obliged as we were to Mr. Collinson for the present of the tube, &c., I thought it right he should⁴ be informed of our success in using it, and wrote him several letters containing accounts of our

1) *Who was arrived*; vgl. S. 11, Anm. 5. — 2) *fellow of the Royal Society* (abgekürzt F. R. S.) Mitglied der Königlich-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in London, begründet 1663. — 3) *at Boston*; einige Zeilen vorher steht *in Boston*; vgl. S. 79, Anm. 1. — 4) *he should be informed*; vgl. S. 85, Anm. 3.

experiments. He got¹ them read in the Royal Society, where they were not at first thought worth so much notice as to be printed in their *Transactions*. One paper, which I wrote on the sameness of lightning with electricity, I sent to Mr. Mitchel, an acquaintance of mine, and one of the members also of that Society; who wrote me word² that it had been read, but was laughed at by the connoisseurs. The papers, however, being shown to Dr. Fothergill³, he thought them of too much value to be stifled, and advised the printing of them. Mr. Collinson then gave them to Cave for publication in his *Gentleman's Magazine*⁴; but he chose to print them separately in a pamphlet, and Dr. Fothergill wrote the preface.

It was, however, some time before those papers were much taken notice of in England. A copy of them happening to fall into the hands of the Count de Buffon⁵, a philosopher deservedly of great reputation in France, and indeed all over Europe, he prevailed with M. Dubourg⁶ to translate them into French; and they were printed at Paris. The

1) *He got them read* er liefs sie vorlesen. — 2) *To write one* (Dativ) *word* eine kurze Mitteilung machen. — 3) Dr. Fothergill, ein berühmter englischer Arzt, gest. 1780 in London. — 4) *Gentleman's Magazine*, die hervorragendste englische Zeitschrift des vorigen Jahrhunderts, herausgegeben von dem Journalisten Cave (gest. 1754 in London), das Vorbild aller neueren englischen (und kontinentalen) „Magazine“. — 5) Count de Buffon (Count wird nur von ausländischen, Earl von englischen Grafen gebraucht), der berühmte Naturforscher, geb. 1707, gest. 1788 zu Paris. — 6) Dubourg; mit vollem Namen Barbeu-Dubourg, ein hervorragender französischer Naturforscher, übersetzte Franklins Schriften ins Französische, starb als Professor in Paris 1779.

publication offended the Abbé Nollet, Preceptor in Natural Philosophy¹ to the Royal Family, and an able experimenter, who had formed and published a theory of electricity, which then had the general vogue. He could not at first believe that such a work came from America, and said it must² have been fabricated by his enemies at Paris to oppose his system. Afterwards, having been assured that there really existed such a person as Franklin at Philadelphia, which he had doubted³, he wrote and published a volume of Letters, chiefly addressed to me, defending his theory, and denying the verity of my experiments, and of the positions deduced from them.

I once purposed answering⁴ the Abbé, and actually began the answer; but, on consideration that my writings contained a description of experiments, which any one might repeat and verify, and, if not to be verified, could not be defended; and believing it was better to spend what⁵ time I could spare from public business in making new experiments, than in disputing about those already made, I therefore never answered M. Nollet; and the event gave me no cause to repent my silence; for my friend M. Le Roy, of the Royal Academy of Sciences⁶, took up my cause and refuted him;

1) *Natural Philosophy*; vgl. S. 70, Anm. 1. — 2) *It must have been*; vgl. S. 37, Anm. 1. — 3) *which he had doubted*; man sagt jetzt *to doubt of* (auch *about*). — 4) *I purposed answering*; vgl. S. 78, Anm. 7. — 5) *to answer* ist im Englischen transitiv. — *what time* s. v. a. *that time which*. — 6) *Royal Academy of Sciences*, die französische *Académie des Sciences* in Paris, 1666 von Colbert gestiftet.

my book was translated into the Italian, German, and Latin languages, and the doctrine it contained was by degrees generally adopted by the philosophers¹ of Europe, in preference to that of the Abbé; so that he lived to see himself the last of his sect.

What gave my book the more sudden and general celebrity, was the success of one of its proposed experiments, made by Messieurs Dalibard and De Lor at Marly², for drawing lightning from the clouds. This engaged the public attention everywhere. M. De Lor, who had an apparatus for experimental philosophy, and lectured in that branch of science, undertook to repeat what he called the *Philadelphia*³ *Experiments*; and after they were performed before the King and court, all the curious of Paris flocked to see them. I will not swell this narrative with an account of that capital experiment, nor of the infinite pleasure I received in the success of a similar one I made soon after⁴ with a kite at Philadelphia, as both are to be found in the histories of electricity.

Dr. Wright, an English physician, when⁵ at Paris, wrote to a friend, who was of the Royal Society, an account of the high esteem my experiments were in among the learned abroad, and of their wonder⁶ that my writings had been so little noticed in England. The Society on this resumed

1) *The philosophers*; vgl. S. 79, Anm. 2. — 2) Marly, Dorf bei Paris mit einem königlichen Lustschlosse, das Ludwig XIV. angelegt hatte. — 3) *the Philadelphia Experiments*; vgl. S. 73, Anm. 5. — 4) *soon after*: im Jahre 1752. — 5) *when at Paris*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 7. — 6) *wonder* Verwunderung.

the consideration of the letters that had been read to them; and the celebrated Dr. Watson¹ drew up a summary account of them, and of all I had afterwards sent to England on the subject; which he accompanied with some praise of the writer. This summary was then printed in their *Transactions*; and, some members of the Society in London having verified the experiment of procuring lightning from the clouds by a pointed rod, and acquainted them with the success, they soon made me more than amends for the slight with which they had before treated me. Without my having made any application for that honour, they chose² me a member, and voted that I³ should be excused the customary payments, which would have amounted to twenty-five guineas; and ever since have given me their *Transactions* gratis. They also presented me with the gold medal of Sir Godfrey Copley⁴, for the year 1753, the delivery of which was accompanied by a very handsome speech of the president, Lord Macclesfield, wherein I was highly honoured.

1) Dr. Watson, ein namhafter englischer Naturforscher jener Zeit. — 2) *chose me a member*; vgl. S. 76, Anm. 2. — Im Laufe der Jahre wurde Franklin zum Mitglied fast aller namhaften Akademien und gelehrten Gesellschaften Europas (u. a. der zu Göttingen, London, Paris, Padua, Petersburg, Madrid, Mailand, Lyon, Rotterdam, Edinburgh) gewählt. — 3) *I should be excused the payments* mir sollten die Zahlungen (Aufnahmegebühren) erlassen werden; vgl. S. 135, Anm. 3. — 4) Sir Godfrey Copley, der Stifter der nach ihm benannten Medaille für hervorragende Leistungen auf dem Gebiete der Physik.

XV.

OUR new governor, Captain Denny, brought over for me the before-mentioned¹ medal from the Royal Society, which he presented to me at an entertainment given him by the city. He accompanied it with very polite expressions of his esteem for me, having, as he said, been long acquainted with my character. After dinner, when the company, as² was customary at that time, were³ engaged in drinking, he took me aside into another room, and acquainted me that he had been advised by his friends in England to cultivate a friendship with me, as one who was capable of giving him the best advice, and of contributing most effectually to⁴ the making his administration easy. That he therefore desired of all things⁵ to have a good understanding with me, and he begged me to be assured of his readiness on all occasions to render me every service that might be in his power. The drinkers, finding we did not return immediately to the table, sent us a decanter of madeira, which⁶ the Governor made a liberal use of, and in proportion became more profuse of his solicitations and promises.

My answers were to this purpose; that I was

1) *The before-mentioned medal*; vgl. S. 132, Anm. 4 *the farmers above mentioned*. — 2) *as was customary* wie es gebräuchlich war. — 3) *the company were engaged*; vgl. S. 43, Anm. 3. — 4) *to the making*; die moderne Sprache verlangt *to make*; vgl. S. 78, Anm. 7. — 5) *of all things* vor allen Dingen. — 6) *which ... use of* dem er gehörig zusprach.

much obliged to him for his profession of regard to me, and that he might rely on every thing in my power to render his administration as easy to him as possible, hoping, at the same time, that he had not brought with him the same unfortunate instructions¹ his predecessors had been hampered with.

On this he did not then explain himself; but when he afterwards came to do business with the Assembly, they appeared again, the disputes were renewed, and I was as active as ever in the opposition, being the penman², first of the request to have a communication of the instructions, and then of the remarks upon them. But between us personally no enmity arose; we were often together; he was a man of letters, had seen much of the world, and was entertaining and pleasing in conversation. He gave me information that my old friend Ralph³ was still alive; that he was esteemed one of the best political writers in England, and had obtained a pension of three hundred pounds a year; that his reputation was indeed small as a poet, Pope⁴ having damned his poetry in the

1) *Instructions*; zur Sache vgl. S. 138, Anm. 3. —
 2) *penman* Verfasser. — 3) Ralph; vgl. S. 47, Anm. 4. Er war inzwischen ein bekannter historischer und politischer Schriftsteller geworden, dessen Feder von den englischen Staatsmännern sehr geschätzt und benutzt wurde, und der deshalb eine jährliche Pension von 300, später 600 Pfund von der Regierung erhielt. Er schrieb u. a. eine Geschichte Englands unter Wilhelm III. in 2 Bänden. Auch als Lyriker und Dramatiker hat er sich versucht. Er starb in London 1762. — 4) *Pope*; vgl. S. 21, Anm. 3. Die „Dunciade“ ist ein satirisches Gedicht, dessen letzter Teil 1742 erschien. und in dem alle gleichzeitigen Dichter kritisiert wurden

Dunciad; but his prose was thought as good as any man's.

The Assembly finally finding the Proprietary obstinately persisted in shackling the deputies¹ with instructions inconsistent not only with the privileges of the people, but with the service of the crown, resolved to petition the King against them, and appointed me their agent to go over to England, to present and support the petition.

While I was at New-York, I received all the accounts of the provisions, &c., that I had furnished to Braddock, some of which accounts could not² sooner be obtained from the different persons I had employed to assist in the business. I presented them to Lord Loudoun³, desiring to be paid the balance⁴. He caused them to be examined by the proper⁵ officer, who, after comparing every article with its voucher, certified them to be right; and his Lordship promised to give me an order on the paymaster for the balance due to me. This was, however, put off from time to time; and, though I called often for it by appointment⁶, I did not get it. At length, just before my departure, he told me he had, on better consideration, concluded not to mix his accounts with those of his predecessors. "And you," said he, "when⁷ in

1) *The deputies* s. v. a. *governors*, da dieselben von ihnen entsendet wurden. — 2) *not sooner* ist jetzt weniger gebräuchlich als *no sooner*; vgl. S. 119, Anm. 6. — 3) Lord (Earl of) Loudoun Nachfolger Shirleys als Oberbefehlshaber. — 4) *desiring to be paid the balance*; vgl. S. 135, Anm. 3. — 5) *the proper officer* der betreffende Beamte. — 6) *by appointment* nach Verabredung. — 7) *when in England*; vgl. S. 8, Anm. 7.

England, have only to exhibit your accounts to the treasury¹, and you will be paid immediately."

I mentioned that it was not right I should be put to any further trouble or delay in obtaining the money I had advanced, as I charged no commission² for my service, "O," said he, "you must not think of persuading us, that you are no gainer; we understand better those matters, and know that every one concerned in supplying the army finds means, in the³ doing it, to fill his own pockets." I assured him that was not my case, and that I had not pocketed a farthing; but he appeared clearly not to believe me; and, indeed, I afterwards learned that immense fortunes are often made in such employments. As to my balance, I am not paid it to this day⁴.

Our captain of the packet⁵ boasted much, before we sailed, of the swiftness of his ship; unfortunately, when we came to sea, she⁶ proved the dullest of ninety-six sail⁷, to his no small mortification. After many conjectures respecting the cause, when we were near another ship almost as dull as ours, which, however, gained upon us, the captain ordered all hands to come aft and stand as near the ensign staff⁸ as possible. We were, passengers included, about forty persons. While we stood there, the ship mended her pace,

1) *The treasury* das Finanzministerium. — 2) *commission* Provision; *to charge* in Ansatz bringen. — 3) *in the doing it*; vgl. S. 43, Anm. 5. — 4) *to this day*: 1788. — 5) *the packet* das Postschiff. — 6) *she*; vgl. S. 28, Anm. 4; *dull* schwerfällig, langsam. — 7) *sail*; vgl. S. 99, Anm. 2. — 8) *the ensign staff* die Flaggenstange am Hinterteil des Schiffs.

and soon left her neighbour far behind, which proved clearly what our captain suspected, that she was loaded too much by the head¹. The casks of water, it seems, had been all placed forward; these he therefore ordered to be moved further aft, on which the ship recovered her character, and proved the best sailer in the fleet.

We were several times chased² in our passage, but outsailed everything; and in thirty days had soundings³. We had a good observation, and the captain judged himself so near our port, Falmouth⁴, that, if we made a good run in the night, we might be off⁵ the mouth of that harbour in the morning and by running in the night might escape the notice of the enemy's privateers, who often cruised near the entrance of the Channel. Accordingly all the sail was set that we could possibly carry, and the wind being very fresh and fair, we stood right before it, and made great way. The captain, after his observation, shaped his course, as he thought, so as to pass wide of the Scilly Rocks; but it seems there is sometimes a strong current setting up St. George's Channel⁶. This was probably the cause of what happened to us.

1) *The head* das Vorderteil des Schiffes. — *further*; vgl. S. 25, Anm. 1. — *character* Eigenschaften. — 2) *chased* von französischen Schiffen. — 3) *to have soundings* dem Lande so nahe sein, daß man loten kann. — *we had a good observation* s. v. a. wir wußten genau, wo wir uns befanden. — 4) Falmouth (fâl'-mæth) an der S.W.-Spitze von England, unweit Kap Lizard. — Die *Scilly Rocks* liegen vor der Küste. — 5) *off* auf der Höhe von. — 6) St. George's Channel zwischen Wales und Irland.

We had a watchman placed in the bow¹, to whom they often called, "*Look well out before there;*" and he as often answered, "*Ay, ay;*" but perhaps had his eyes shut, and was half asleep, at the time; they sometimes answering, as is said², mechanically; for he did not see a light just before us, which had been hid by the studding-sails from the man at the helm, and from the rest of the watch, but by an accidental yaw of the ship was discovered, and occasioned a great alarm, we³ being very near it; the light appearing to me as large as a cart-wheel. It was midnight, and our captain fast asleep; but Captain Kennedy⁴, jumping upon deck, and seeing the danger, ordered the ship to wear⁵ round, all sails standing; an operation dangerous to the masts, but it carried us clear, and we avoided shipwreck, for we were running fast on the rocks on which the light was erected. This deliverance impressed me strongly with the utility of lighthouses, and made me resolve to encourage the⁶ building some of them in America, if I should live to return thither.

In the morning it was found by the soundings that we were near our port, but a thick fog hid the land from our sight. About nine o'clock the fog began to rise, and seemed to be lifted up from

1) *Bow* (spr. bô) der Bug, *bow* (spr. böu) die Verbeugung. — *ay* (spr. i) ja. — 2) *as is said* wie man sagt, wie es der Fall sein soll; vgl. S. 145, Anm. 2. — *they* die Wachen. — 3) *we being*; vgl. S. 127, Anm. 4. — 4) *Captain Kennedy*, einer der Passagiere, ein Kapitän in der Kgl. Marine. — 5) *to wear*; die jetzige Sprache verlangt *to be worn*. — 6) *the building some*; vgl. S. 43, Anm. 5.

the water like the curtain of a theatre, discovering underneath the town of Falmouth, the vessels in the harbour, and the fields that surround it. This was a pleasing spectacle to those who had been long without any other prospect than the uniform view of a vacant¹ ocean, and it gave us the more pleasure, as we were now free² from the anxieties which had arisen.

I set out immediately, with my son³, for London, and we arrived there the 26th of July, 1757⁴.

1) *Vacant* öde. — 2) *free from the anxieties*; in einem Briefe, den Franklin am Tage der Landung, 17. Juli 1757, an seine Frau schrieb, heisst es: *Were I a Roman Catholic, perhaps I should on this occasion vow to build a chapel to some saint; but as I am not, if I were to vow at all, it should be to build a lighthouse.* — 3) *with my son*, der während seines ganzen Aufenthaltes in England bei ihm blieb und mit ihm 1762 nach Amerika zurückkehrte, nachdem er von der englischen Regierung zum Gouverneur von New Jersey ernannt worden war. — 4) 1757. Hier brechen Franklins Aufzeichnungen über sein Leben ab; über seine Absicht, dieselben fortzusetzen, vgl. S. 60, Anm. 5.



Erklärung der Aussprachezeichen*.

ǎ = a in <i>fate</i> .	ô = o in <i>no</i> .
ǣ = a in <i>far, mask, path,</i> <i>glass.</i>	ô̇ = o in <i>move</i> .
ǣ̇ = a in <i>fall, law</i> .	ô̈ = o in <i>nor</i> .
ǣ̈ = a in <i>fat</i> .	ổ = o in <i>not</i> .
è = e in <i>me</i> .	ù = u in <i>tube</i> .
è̇ = e in <i>met</i> .	ù̇ = u in <i>tub</i> .
ì = i in <i>pine</i> .	ù̈ = u in <i>bull, foot</i> .
ì̇ = i in <i>pin</i> .	ôi̇ = oi in <i>oil</i> .
	ôû̇ = ou in <i>pound</i> .

ä bedeutet a in *air, care*; ə den unbetonten Vokal in *about* (ə-bôût'), *animal* (ân'-i-məl), *action* (âk'-shən), *distance* (dis'-təns), *unfortunately* (ûn-fôr'-tshə-nət-li) u. dgl.; ù den Laut in *Sir, fur, firm*; gh hartes g (wie in Garten, giebt); ŋ den Gutturalnasal in *sing, finger, longer*; j oder dj weiches g = französischem j mit vorlautendem d; s bezeichnet hartes s (= ſſ oder ß wie in Wasser, reißen); z weiches s (wie französisches z in *zone, gazon*, deutsches s in *Rose, lesen*); sh = ſh; zh = französischem j wie in *jeu, jouer*; th bedeutet das harte th wie in *thin*, ð das weiche th wie in *this*. Das kleine r bezeichnet die Schwächung des auslautenden r und des inlautenden vor einem Konsonanten zu einem unbestimmten Vokal.

Die Aussprache ist mit Bezugnahme auf Henry Sweet, Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2te verbesserte Auflage, 1886), Western, Englische Lautlehre und Stormonth, *Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary, &c.* achte Auflage, 1884, in einigen Fällen nach Smart, Webster, Worcester und anderen Quellen angegeben.

* Von Benecke für die *English authors* aufgestellt.



9. Le Gardien par Scribe et Bayard.
10. Halifax par Dumas.
11. Chut! par Scribe.
12. Les Demoiselles de Saint-Cyr par Dumas.

V^e Série.

1. Une Chaumière et son Cœur par Scribe et Alphonse.
2. Yelva par Scribe, Devilleneuve et Desvergers.
3. Le bon Garçon par Picard et Mazères.
4. Un Moment d'imprudence par Wafflard et Fulgence.
5. et 6. Les Mystères de Paris par Dinaux et Sue. — Les Moralistes par Scribe et Varner.
7. La Somnambule par Scribe et Delavigne.
8. La Berline de l'Émigré par Mélesville et Hestienne.
9. Le Chevalier du Guet p. Lockroy.
10. Mathilde p. Bayard et Laurencin.
11. Les vieux Péchés p. Mélesville et Dumanoir.
12. Le Diplomate par Scribe et Delavigne.

VI^e Série.

1. Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle par Dumas.
2. Le Mari à la campagne par Bayard et de Vailly.
3. Est-ce un Rêve? par de Rougemont.
4. Le Médecin malgré lui p. Molière.
5. L'Héritière par Scribe et Delavigne. — Le Secrétaire et le Cuisinier par Scribe et Mélesville.
6. Le Célibataire et l'Homme marié par Wafflard et Fulgence.
7. La Ciguë par Augier.
8. Les Surprises par Scribe.
9. Elle est folle par Mélesville.
10. Estelle par Scribe.
11. Zoë p. Scribe et Mélesville. — Le Cadet de famille par Lemaître.
12. Valérie par Scribe et Mélesville.

VII^e Série.

1. L'Ambitieux par Scribe.
2. Marie Mignot par Bayard et Dupont.
3. Le Malade imaginaire par Molière.
4. Clermont par Scribe et Vanderbilt.
5. Lucrèce par Ponsard.
6. Le Budget d'un jeune Ménage par Scribe et Bayard.

7. Diogène par Pyat.
8. Une Journée à Versailles par Duval.
9. Le Barbier de Séville par Beaumarchais.
10. Le Mousse par Souvestre.
11. Geneviève par Scribe.
12. Kean par Dumas.

VIII^e Série.

1. La Loi salique par Scribe.
2. L'École des Femmes par Molière.
3. Un Mari qui se dérange par Cormon et Grangé.
4. Un Nuage au Ciel par Bayard et Mercier. — La Gloire et le Pot au feu par Bayard et de Courcy.
5. La Protégée sans le savoir par Scribe.
6. Agnès de Méranie par Ponsard.
7. Le Gant et l'Éventail par Bayard et Sauvage.
8. Loïsa par M^{me} Ancelot.
9. Honorine par Radet.
10. Phèdre par Racine.
11. D'Aranda par Scribe.
12. Ce que Femme veut . . . par Duvert et Lauzanne.

IX^e Série.

1. Le Chevalier de Maison-Rouge par Dumas et Maquet.
2. Une Femme qui se jette par la fenêtre par Scribe et Lemoine.
3. Louis XI par Delavigne.
4. Didier l'honnête homme par Scribe et Masson.
5. Le Puff par Scribe.
6. La Lune de miel p. Scribe, Mélesville et Carmouche.
7. Le Pouvoir d'une Femme par Rosier.
8. Les Projets de mariage p. Duval.
9. Le Chiffonnier de Paris par Pyat.
10. La Famille Riquebourg par Scribe.
11. Noémi par Dennery et Clément.
12. Les Aristocraties par Arago.

X^e Série.

1. Louise par Scribe.
2. Le Cid par Corneille.
3. O Amitié! par Scribe et Varner.
4. M. Musard par Picard.
5. L'Amitié des Femmes par Mazères.
6. La Propriété c'est le Vol par Clairville et Cordier.
7. Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme par Molière.
8. Louison par de Musset.

Théâtre français publié par C. Schütz. Textausgaben.

9. Adrienne Lecouvreur par Scribe et Legouvé.
10. Moiroud et Compagnie par Bayard et Delorme.
11. Le Curé de Pomponne par Bayard.
12. Les Grenouilles qui demandent un Roi par Clairville, Cordier et de Beauplan. — La Foire aux Idées No. 1 par Leuven et Brunswick.

XI^e Série.

1. Le Comte Hermann par Dumas.
2. François le Champi par Sand.
3. Le Misanthrope par Molière.
4. La Foire aux Idées No. 2 et 3 par Leuven et Brunswick.
5. Père et Portier par Bayard et Varner.
6. Toussaint Louverture par Lamartine.
7. Irène par Scribe et Lockroy.
8. Trois Rois trois Dames par Gozlan.

XII^e Série.

1. Les Contes de la Reine de Navarre par Scribe et Legouvé.
2. Claudie par Sand.
3. Gabrielle par Augier.
4. Bataille de Dames par Scribe et Legouvé.
5. Zaïre par Voltaire.
6. Molière par Sand.
7. Mercadet par de Balzac.
8. Marie Stuart par Lebrun.

XIII^e Série.

1. Mademoiselle de la Seiglière par Sandeau.
2. Horace par Corneille.
3. Diane par Augier.
4. Les Robes blanches par Gozlan.
5. Le Démon du foyer par Sand.
6. Si Dieu le veut... par Bayard et de Biéville.
7. Le Mariage de Victorine p. Sand.
8. Le menteur par Corneille.

XIV^e Série.

1. L'Honneur et l'Argent p. Ponsard.
2. Lady Tartuffe p. M^{me} de Girardin.
3. Philiberte par Augier.
4. Laure et Delphine par Bayard et Potron.
5. Iphigénie par Racine.

6. Le Pressoir par Sand.
7. Diane de Lys par Dumas fils.
8. Britannicus par Racine.

XV^e Série.

1. La Pierre de touche par Augier et Sandeau.
2. Le Gendre de M. Poirier par Augier et Sandeau.
3. Esther par Racine.
4. Mon Étoile par Scribe. — La Joie fait peur Par M^{me} de Girardin.
5. Les Femmes savantes p. Molière.
6. La Czarine par Scribe.
7. Andromaque par Racine.
8. Ceinture dorée par Augier.

XVI^e Série.

1. Les Plaideurs par Racine.
2. Maître Favilla par Sand.
3. Cinna par Corneille.
4. La Bourse par Ponsard.
5. Un Jeu de la fortune p. Picard.
6. Les enfants d'Édouard par Delavigne.
7. Le Joueur par Regnard.
8. Les Doigts de fée par Scribe et Legouvé.

XVII^e Série.

1. Polyeucte par Corneille.
2. Jeanne d'Arc par Stern.
3. Mithridate par Racine.
4. Le Testament de César Girodot par Belot et Villetard.
5. Les Précieuses ridicules par Molière.
6. Trois Proverbes dramatiques: Les Interprétations. — Le Mendiant par Leclercq. Il faut qu'une Porte soit ouverte ou fermée par de Musset.
7. Le Légataire universel par Regnard.
8. Mérope par Voltaire.

XVIII^e Série.

1. L'École des Vieillards par Delavigne.
2. Le Tartuffe par Molière.
3. La Belle-mère et le Gendre par Samson.
4. Luxe et Indigence par d'Épagny.
5. Athalie par Racine.
6. Hernani par Hugo.
7. La Métromanie par Piron.
8. L'École des Maris par Molière.

Franklin, Benjamin,

Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography Mit Anmerkungen zum Schulgebrauch
herausgegeben von. K. Mayer. [Franklin (Benj.)]

Bd.: 1

Bielefeld und Leipzig 1889

Biogr. 427 cid-1

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11570913-6